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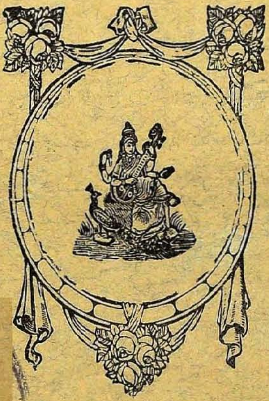

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CONTENTS

VOL. XV.] [PART II

Page.

Our First President (The late Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri): K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, B.A. B.L. .. i—ii

The Doctrine of Niyoga: Prof. M. Hiriyanna .. 37—47

Vedic Studies, III: The Root Śvas, Śuṣ: Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah .. 48—63

On the Authorship of the Śatakatrayī: D. D. Kosambi .. 64—77

Indu, the Author of the Anunyāsa: Dr. V. Raghavan .. 78

History of Medicine in India—A Few Questions: Dr. D. V. S. Reddy .. 79—82

Book Review .. 83

Obituary Notices .. 84

Supplement—

Pramāṇalakṣaṇa of Sarvajñātman: Edited by Panditarāja T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Dr. T. R. Chintamani. Continued from Vol. X .. 9—16

OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

The *Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute* and the *Journal of Oriental Research* published under its auspices have sustained an irreparable loss in the sad demise of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., D.LITT., LL.D., on Wednesday, the 17th April, 1946. India to-day mourns the loss of one of her greatest sons. The founding of the *Institute* was due largely to his wise guidance, his unswerving enthusiasm, and his deep love and admiration for the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. It was his earnest appeal for funds, backed by his magnetic personality, that called forth a hearty response from many lovers of Indian culture and patrons of Oriental learning. Rightly, therefore, the Institute at its first general meeting unanimously chose him as its first President. With his characteristic modesty, he felt diffident to accept it and even expressed doubts as to his fitness for the place. But the members of the *Institute* with one voice acclaimed him as their worthy President. He was the finest flower of Indian culture and his heart instinctively throbbed with the keen appreciation of the high ethical ideals of India's glorious past. His love for Sanskrit and its literature was great and his study of ancient Indian classics was thorough and accurate. His mastery of the Sanskrit language, its idiom and grammar enabled him to enter into the true spirit of our great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. During the short period of eighteen months as Agent in South Africa, he acted not only as the trusted ambassador of the Government of India, but also as the eloquent messenger of India's ancient heritage. His marvellous expositions of the fundamentals of India's culture and Philosophy made a deep impression on the South African whites, and served a great deal, to liquidate their unreasoned prejudice against Indians. Perhaps, his greatest contribution to the spread of Indian culture, was the memorable series of thirty lectures he delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Academy in 1944-45 in the Madras Sanskrit College premises, on the Ramayana of Valmiki. These lectures rightly attracted huge audiences, every week. His exposition of the leading characters of the great epic was truly marvellous and made a deep abiding impression on the minds of his hearers. Time cannot efface from the memory of those who saw and listened, the silvery voice, the charming face lit with a benignant smile, the measured cadence of his accentuation, sweet as the flow of music of the Veena, his brilliant portrayal of the lofty ethical idealism of Rama, Sita and Hanuman, his faultless, idiomatic English and his chiselled mellifluous phraseology. On the day this series was finished, a grateful and admiring public

presented him with an address and souvenir and funds were collected for the publication of these valuable lectures. The Sanskrit Academy, accordingly, has taken upon itself the duty of bringing them out in book-form. The authorities of the Academy were very anxious that the lectures should be revised by him. But, unfortunately, it was not to be. His fast deteriorating health prevented the fulfilment of their earnest desire. We hope that the publication of the lectures will be accomplished as early as possible.

Being a master of both English and Sanskrit, his translations reached the high water-mark of excellence and were models of what a translation should be like. Many will remember what a profound impression his translation of the 'Nikumbha Vadha' chapter in the Yuddha Kanda of the Ramayana made on the audience. This was later published in the 'Indian Review' by his good friend, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan. It is an undoubted fact that the Ramayana profoundly influenced his life and convictions, especially, in the later years of his life and he himself recognised it with great joy in the broadcast he delivered on 'The books that influenced me'. It was an education in itself to see the great man break down, moved to tears, in the midst of his eloquent portrayal of the scene in the Uttara Kanda of the last meeting of Lakshmana and Sita when she was banished from the kingdom and left in the forest. Though he had a sceptical, enquiring mind which demanded strict scientific proof for religious beliefs and did not rest content with faith and hoary tradition and he would love to depict Rama as a human personality, not altogether free on occasions from human failings, he was more inclined as he proceeded, to fall into line with the great men of the past in India in their profound belief that Rama was an Avatar of God, and this was clearly evident when he warmed himself up on the lofty theme of Rama's noble ideals. On one or two occasions, I had the good fortune to hear him say that he wished to depart this life with the praise of Rama on his lips. No wonder, that this great transformation took place imperceptibly in him. History and tradition record that even great-men alien to our culture by birth, like Kabir and Dara Shukoh were convinced of the truth of Sri Rama's Godhead. It is indeed in the fitness of things, that Mahatma Gandhi in his mass prayers calls upon lakhs of people to invoke the 'Ram Dhun' and declares emphatically his profound conviction that Ramarajya is Khudairajya.

India shall indeed be honoring herself by cherishing as a priceless possession the memory of one of her greatest sons—a selfless patriot, a wise statesmen, a great orator, an erudite scholar and a born gentleman of high integrity.

K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar.

THE DOCTRINE OF NIYOGA[1]

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

The conception of *dharma*[2] is as old as the Vedas; but it is difficult to say whether it was understood, in those early times, as a means to an end or as an end in itself. Judging from the literature that is now available to us, we may take it to have been generally[3] regarded then as a means to an end or as an instrumental value, the end being the attainment of some good in this life or in the next. This view has survived to the present day, but along with two important transformations of it. One of them looks upon *dharma* not as an instrumental, but as an intrinsic, value or as an end in itself. The other continues to believe in its instrumental character, but has altered the notion of the end it serves from worldly or other-worldly prosperity (*abhyudaya*) to moral betterment (*sattva-śuddhi*). Our object in this article is to explain the nature and the significance of the transformation involved in the second of these views; but it will be necessary, in doing so, to allude to the first for purposes of contrast.[4] We shall accordingly begin by giving a brief account of that view, which is held by more than one school of later Indian thought.

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1. This article is based chiefly on the following works:
   (*i*) *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* of Śālikanātha, Chowkhamba Series (PP).
   (*ii*) *Tantra-rahasya* of Rāmānujācārya, Gaekwad Oriental Series (TR).
   (*iii*) *Vākyārtha-ratna* of Ahobalasūri, Mysore Oriental Library Series (VR).

2. It is as a moral and ritualistic conception that we are here concerned with *dharma*. The term, however, occasionally has other meanings also in Vedic literature. *Cf*. Kaṭha Upaniṣad i. 21, where it stands for 'entity' (*vastu*).

3. *E.g*. Īśa Upaniṣad verse 2, may be taken to teach *dharma* as an end in itself.

4. In both the views, with which we shall deal, there are divergences in matters of detail (*see e.g.*, TR. ch. iv). It is not possible to take them all into account in an article like this. We shall therefore confine our attention to the best known among them.

I

By *dharma* in this view, we have to understand *karma* or voluntary acts like sacrifices that are conducive to some good.[1] These acts, broadly speaking, are of two types: those that are *kāmya* or 'optional' and those that are *nitya* or 'obligatory'. It is clear that a similar distinction can be made in ordinary or secular activities also; and we shall use them as illustrations, though they may not be *dharma* in the strict sense of the term.

(1) *Kāmya-karma*: To start with a simple example from ordinary activities. Let us think of a doctor prescribing some medicine to a sick person. The doctor's instruction 'Take this medicine'[2] leads to a certain activity whose carrying out by the patient secures (or is expected to secure) for him the desired end, *viz.*, restoration of health. The direction is conveyed by the imperative 'Take'; but the desire for the end sought is external to it, being prior to the direction. Here the act of taking the medicine (*dhātvartha*) is the means (*karaṇa*) to the attainment of the result (*phala*): the agent (*kartā*) in the act is the person who is ill; and the doctor's prescription indicates the fitness of the means to the realisation of the desired end (*iṣṭa-sādhanatva*).

Similarly in the usually cited ritualistic example of the *jyotiṣṭoma*,[3] the sacrificial act or *yāga* is the means to the attainment of *svarga* or heavenly bliss;[4] the agent is one who is desirous of it and is otherwise qualified, according to the

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1. यागादिरेव धर्मः Acts that lead to an evil result are, by contrast, termed *adharma*. The word *karma* is wider in its significance, and is applied to both *dharma* and *adharma*.

2. *Cf*. *Tarka-saṁgraha-dīpikā*: आरोग्यकामः भैषज्यपानं कुर्यात्.

3. ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत.

4. The term *svarga*, which once meant 'heaven', has no geographical significance in the later systems generally. It is usually explained as meaning 'unalloyed and continuous' or ideal bliss, though it often implies that it is to be experienced elsewhere

यन्न दुःखेन संभिन्नं न च ग्रस्तमनन्तरम् ।
अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम् ॥

Cf. Śabara on Jaimini Sūtra, VI. i. 1.

scriptures, to offer that sacrifice;[1] and the imperative or, more strictly, the potential suffix[2] (*liṅ*) indicates the fitness of the means to the realisation of the desired end. But there is one important difference. In the previous example, the result that follows is directly traceable to the taking of the medicine; but here it is obvious that no such direct relation can exist between the act and the result, for one has to wait for the fruit of the sacrificial act performed in this life till after death. To bridge the intervening gulf between them is postulated an *apūrva* or some unseen power or capacity which endures in the agent until the result is attained.[3] This mediated causation of the desired end is a distinguishing feature of ritualistic activity, as compared with secular commands like that considered above. The *apūrva* here is described as a *kalpya* ('postulated'), which means that it is not expressly mentioned in the Vedic injunction but is only deduced from it.

(2) *Nitya-karma*: In both the above instances, it is the end that determines the activity. But there are activities secular as well as ritualistic with which no such result is explicitly associated. 'Fetch that book',[4] said by a teacher to his pupil (say), may be taken as an instance of the former type. 'One ought to worship the goddess of *saṁdhyā* every day'[5] may be given as an instance of activities which are similar in the sphere of ritual, for no end is mentioned in the scripture in their case as in that of optional deeds. But these commands also are followed by appropriate activities. So the question arises as to whether they serve any end or not. In accordance with the general principle admitted in this view, *viz.*, that no voluntary activity is conceivable in the absence of an idea of a

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1. The result is taken to follow necessarily, provided the rules of the sacrifice have all been carefully observed. The certainty of the result here distinguishes this activity from that in the above example.

2. For the sake of uniformity, we shall generally speak of the imperative suffix.

3. There are rites which yield their fruit in the present life; but, even in their case, an *apūrva* is assumed.

4. Strictly, this would be an instance of *naimittika-karma* and not of *nitya-karma*. But the distinction is of no importance in regard to the point under consideration here.

5. अहरहस्संध्यामुपासीत

suitable end, it is laid down that here also an end is intended, though it is not expressly stated. Ordinarily, that end is explained as the avoidance of some unwelcome result (*pratyavāya-parihāra*), which would follow if the behests were neglected. Thus *all* voluntary activity, according to this view, is prompted by the desire for an end.[1] The only distinction is that in activities of the first or *kāmya* type, the end is positive, while in those of the second or *nitya* type it is negative.

II

The view that we propose to consider specifically in this article is that of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṁsā.[2] In dealing with the present topic, the writers of that school begin with a discussion of optional deeds (*kāmya-karmas*) and then extend the conclusion reached in their case to that of obligatory deeds (*nitya-karmas*).[3] It will be better for our purpose here to reverse this order, and to take up the latter for first consideration. The previous view, as we have just stated, associates an end with obligatory deeds also, though there is no reference to it in the scriptural texts prescribing them. The Prābhākara school criticises it for doing so. The commands for which such *karmas* stand, it maintains, are meant to be carried out for their own sake and not for any end. Thus the mandate or *niyoga*, which is the meaning of the imperative suffix, becomes all important; and it is because this *niyoga* is identified with *dharma* that we described the latter as an intrinsic value according to this school. The *niyoga* or *dharma* is also named *kārya* ('duty'), inasmuch as the person commanded sets about accomplishing it under a sense of obligation (*mamedam kāryam iti*).

It is not merely that there is no scriptural warrant to associate any end with such deeds; to judge from the form of the injunction, there is no logical need either, it is added, for doing so. The only two elements necessary to make a mandate significant are (1) the person (or class of persons) to whom it

1. इष्टसाधनताज्ञानं प्रवर्तकम्.

2. The view of Kumārila differs from both this view and the previous one, but it is more like the latter than the former.

3. See *e.g.*, PP. p. 192.

is addressed (*niyojya*)[1] and (2) its content (*viṣaya*).[2] That is, a mandate should indicate who is to obey it, and what particular act he should do to obey it. In the illustrative example of this type of *karma*, cited above from the scriptures, those who are to obey the behest are the three higher castes, and its content is the worshipping (*upa*+*ās*) of the goddess of *saṁdhyā*. When these two are known (the latter, with the necessary details), the mandate becomes fully intelligible and nothing else remains to be known. The application of this principle of interpretation to the corresponding secular activity instanced above, *viz.*, 'Fetch that book' is clear. It is the pupil that is to obey, and he fulfils the command when he takes the book to the teacher. There is as little need to think of any end that the *niyojya* seeks in the one case as in the other.

These are not, however, the only types of *karma* taught in the Veda or are known to us in everyday life for there are, as we know, optional deeds also. Let us now consider the Vedic injunction about one of them, *viz.*, the *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice. Here there is a potential form (*yajeta*) which signifies a behest. But what is it that is to be accomplished (*sādhya*)? According to the previous view, it is *svarga*. But Prabhākara contends that there is nothing in the form of the verb itself to connect it with that end. This form (*yajeta*) consists of a root and a suffix. While the suffix connotes the command, the root, as in the previous example, points to the sacrifice as the content of that command. It is this command or *niyoga*, he says, that is principally to be carried out here also. But a mandate, as we have seen, needs not only a content to become significant, but also the *niyojya* to whom it is addressed; and it is to supply this need that the other expression, *viz.*, *svarga-kāma* is used in the injunction. These two needs being supplied, the mandate becomes fully intelligible, and requires no further supplementation.

But the expression *svarga-kāma*, which defines the person addressed, involves a reference to an end, for it means 'he who seeks *svarga*'. The end, *as such*, may not be needed for the mandate to become significant; but it happens here to be

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1. The *niyojya* is defined as follows:

नियोज्यस्स तु कार्यं यस्स्वकीयत्वेन बुध्यते (PP. p. 182).

2. Strictly, it is the content of the will (*kṛti*) to carry out the *niyoga*. See VR. iii. st. 15-7.

included in the description of the *niyojya*[1] and cannot therefore be dismissed as irrelevant to the injunction. It may not be required for making the mandate intelligible; but the idea of the *niyojya* will be incomplete without it. What then is the status of the *phala* here? The answer is that it is a *consequence* of the *niyoga* which is to be accomplished. That is to say, when the mandate is carried out, the end ensues as a matter of course.[2] But the *niyoga* or *dharma* is not therefore to be regarded as its means or operative cause (*karaṇa*); it is only a necessary antecedent to it. Its operative cause is the sacrifice,[3] as in the other view, so that the *yāga* becomes the content of the command as well as the means to the *phala*. But the latter is only a secondary function it discharges, for unless the mandate is first accomplished through it, the *svarga* will not ensue. Further, this aspect of the *yāga*, *viz.*, its serving as the means to *svarga* is not included in the injunction (*aśābda*), but is in the nature of a corollary (*aupādānika*) to it.[4] The result of describing *svarga* as a mere consequent, and not as the end directly aimed at, is that the *niyoga* occupies the foremost place in the injunctive situation here also as it does in obligatory deeds.[5] Thus we see that the Prābhākara school tries to assign the same central position to the *niyoga* in activities of both the types we are considering.

There is one other point to consider, *viz.*, the exact nature of the *kārya* here or the meaning of the imperative suffix. In the case of the secular activity mentioned above, the doctor's direction is carried out by taking the medicine. It is this act (*kriyā*) that, according to the present view, is the *kārya* there,

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1. It is consequently described here as नियोज्यविशेषण.

Cf. PP. न हि फलं फलतयान्वीयते, किं त्वधिकारिविशेषणतया (p. 191).

2. फलसिद्धिस्तु नान्तरीयका (TR. p. 66).

3. VR. iii. st. 51-7.

4. VR. iii. st. 18. The word *jyotiṣṭomena*, with its instrumental suffix, occurring in the injunction, may suggest that this aspect also is expressly mentioned in it. But it is explained as appositional in character, and as meant to *specify* the sacrifice referred to in *yajeta*. See VR. iv. st. 74.

5. *Cf.* PP. आत्मसिद्ध्यनुकूलस्य नियोज्यस्य प्रसिद्धये ।
कुर्वत्स्वर्गादिकमपि प्रधानं कार्यमेव नः ॥ (p. 190).

and the result (*phala*) follows directly from it. But in the case of the sacrifice, the result is to accrue only in a future life, which necessarily entails a break between the action and its fruit. There is consequently a need for something to link them together; and it is the accomplishment of the latter that is signified by the suffix here. Hence we must give up the idea that it is the mere *act* that is always the *kārya* ('duty'), as we have hitherto implied, and assume in its stead an enduring something (*sthāyyeva kiṁcit*), which results from the sacrificial act and serves as the antecedent of the result.[1] It is this additional element and not, as in the previous view, the mere act that is meant by the term *dharma*. It is also called *apūrva* (which literally means 'never before'), because it cannot be known except through the scriptures.[2] While in secular mandates, the imperative suffix thus stands for *kriyā-kārya* ('act-duty'), in Vedic mandates it does for *apūrva-kārya* ('*apūrva-duty*'). Both forms of *kārya* are the same, for both alike prompt activity.[3] The only distinction is that while the first is knowable empirically, the second is not. In other words, the conception of *dharma* is unique,[4] and so is the source of our knowledge of it.

But, if the potential ending or *liṅ*, as it is technically called, connotes what is unique and is altogether beyond our experience, it may be asked how we are able to know it. We interpret Vedic statements with our knowledge of the meanings of words we commonly use.[5] If the *liṅ* here means something wholly unknown to us, it amounts to saying that we cannot at all understand the Vedic injunctions containing words with this suffix. This objection is met by pointing out that not *all* the words in a sentence need to be previously known for understanding it. It will suffice if we know the majority of them. The sense of the remaining one or two words, we can generally

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1. VR. i. st. 53-4
2. *Cf.* PP. क्रियादिभिन्नं यत्कार्यं वेद्यं मानान्तरैर्न तत् ।
अतो मानान्तरापूर्वमपूर्वमिति गीयते ॥ (p. 187).
3. कार्यताज्ञानं प्रवर्तकम्. See PP. p. 180. Contrast Note 14.
4. See PP. p. 192.
5. *Cf.* what is known as *loka-veda-nyāya* (Jaimini Sūtra, I. iii. 8-9, 30-5).

gather with the aid of those whose meanings we already know. It is thus that the meaning of the *liṅ* suffix has been ascertained to be *apūrva* in the sense explained. In the example we have selected, it is the expression *svarga-kāma* occurring in the sentence that leads, as already indicated, to this conclusion, *viz.*, that the suffix cannot refer to the sacrificial act as the 'duty' to be done, because it is transient, but to something else which is accomplished by that act. That is the primary meaning (*vācyārtha*) of *liṅ*, because it is used in that sense in the Veda. The *apūrva* is accordingly described here as *vācyāpūrva* and, though bearing the same name, is distinguished from the *kalpyāpūrva* of the rival view. The suffix, no doubt, means the mere act as 'duty' (*kriyā-kārya*) in secular statements, but that is only its secondary sense (*lakṣyārtha*).[1] In other words, there is not, in the case of secular duties, the same kind of obligation as in that of the Vedic injunction. If we still speak of them as 'duties', it is only by courtesy that we do so. They have a utilitarian basis or presuppose some kind of explicit or implicit convention.[2]

III

We may now summarise the differences between the two views, and conclude by making one or two general observations on them. To begin with optional deeds. In the injunction about the *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice, the expression *svarga-kāma* represents, according to the first view, the agent in the act of sacrificing. The root in *yajeta*, the second word, denotes the rite as the means to *svarga* which is to be achieved; and the suffix signifies the fact that it brings about a good. It is this *yāga* that is *dharma* here, and it leads to *svarga* not directly but through what is described as *kalpyāpūrva*. According to the

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1. PP. p. 196. Here we find the probable reason why, as above noted, the works of the Prābhākara school, in discussing this topic, begin with optional deeds. It is to explain the primary sense of *liṅ* first.

2. *Cf.* Śabara on Jaimini Sūtra, I. iii. 2. Here naturally arises the question whether moral duties are to be reckoned as *dharma* or not. The answer to this question depends upon what we exactly mean by 'moral duties'. Generally speaking, they fall, according to the orthodox view, under *dharma* since 'scripture' (*śāstra*), in its wider sense, comprehends Smṛtis and *śiṣṭācāra* which, together with the Veda, treat fully of morality.

second view, on the other hand, the first expression defines the *niyojya*. The suffix in *yajeta* points to the mandate ; and the root in it, to its content. It is this mandate or *apūrva*, which is to be carried out, that is *dharma* here and not the *yāga* as in the previous view. Owing to the characterisation of the *niyojya* as *svarga-kāma*, the injunction involves a reference to *svarga* also ; but this *phala*, which necessarily presupposes the accomplished *niyoga*, is explained as its consequence and therefore as not affecting its primacy. If we overlook for the moment the divergence in the meaning of *apūrva* in the two views, we may say that both recognise *apūrva* and *phala*, but that the emphasis they lay on them is quite different. More or less the same contrast is found between the two views in regard to obligatory deeds also ; only while the one recognises an end (*phala*) in their case too, the other refuses to associate it with them in any sense.

We have stated that the end sought in all voluntary activity, according to the first view, is either pleasure or the avoidance of pain ; and this may make the doctrine appear fundamentally hedonistic. Without entering into the details of this complicated question, we may state briefly that the objection does not stand for, though pleasure or happiness is represented as the aim of all voluntary activity, the pursuit of certain pleasure is condemned in unequivocal terms. Or, as we might put it otherwise, it is *śreyas* alone that is commended and not *preyas*.[1] The same conclusion follows also from the recognition here of 'prohibited deeds' (*pratiṣiddha-karma*), which include acts like inflicting injury on living beings (*himsā*), in addition to the two already mentioned, *viz.*, optional and obligatory deeds. The criterion of dharma is not thus pleasure or happiness, but that which distinguishes between worthy and unworthy pleasures. As the majority of those who hold the present view, we may add, believe that unaided human reason cannot discover this distinction, they rest for a knowledge of it on scriptural teaching or revelation.

Unlike the above, the school of Prabhākara holds that, in judging the worth of activities coming under *dharma*, the ele-

1. *Cf.* Śabara on Jaimini Sūtra, I. i. 2:
य एव श्रेयस्करस्स एव धर्मशब्देनोच्यते......यः पुरुषं
निश्श्रेयसेन संयुनक्ति स एव धर्मशब्देनोच्यते.

ment of natural inclination should be subordinated, if it cannot be wholly dismissed. The charge of hedonism cannot therefore be brought against it. But there may be another objection. Whatever view we may take of the place it assigns to pleasure or happiness in the case of optional deeds, the school recognises an unconditional imperative in the case of obligatory deeds. Does not this make the conception of 'duty' here quite barren? Or, to state the same in a different way, what is the penalty, if one should disobey the mandates prescribing such duties? This question is discussed in the works of the school, and we shall state the answer in the words of one of them.[1]

'The personal ending such as that of the potential mood (*liṅādi*), you say, teaches *apūrva* as a duty to be accomplished. In that case one may not set about it, although it is known as a duty, because it serves no end'.

'Even in respect of optional deeds, which are known to have an end, one may not act. What is to be done? The function of *pramāṇas* ceases with the mere revealing of facts'.

'Well, in the case of the optional deeds, the failure to perform them means missing their fruit, and that is the penalty. What is the penalty in the case of unconditional duties?'

'The Vedic mandate will not then have been carried out'.

'What of that?'

'That itself is the punishment, for that itself is of ultimate value (*puruṣārtha*). It is on the analogy of these *karmas* that we say that carrying out the mandate is the true end even in the case of optional deeds, and that the attainment of the so-called *phala* is merely what follows next'.

'How can their non-accomplishment be itself the punishment?'

'The good, who praise those that obey the Vedic behest and blame those that do not, will answer that question. Or perhaps one's own conscience, which feels guilty of having proved faithless to it, will do so'.

The appeal in this discussion, it will be seen, is first to the judgment of the better mind of the community, and then to

1. TR. p. 66. The following translation is reproduced here, with one or two minor alterations, from the writer's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 331. *Cf*. PP. p. 191.

the verdict of one's own conscience. Here we have a conception of duty for duty's sake[1] and that, in a sense far more rigorous than in the Gītā, since even motives so pure as 'cleansing the heart' (*sattva-śuddhi*) and 'pleasing God' (*Īśvara-prīti*) are excluded. The doing of duty is thus placed in this view on a basis of *absolute* disinterestedness.

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1. TR. describes *apūrva* as स्वयंप्रयोजनभूत (p. 70).

VEDIC STUDIES : III. THE ROOT *ŚVAS, ŚUṢ*

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

(Continued from Vol. XIV, page 294).

(3) 1, 140, 5: ād asya te dhvasayanto vṛtherate
kṛṣṇam abhvaṃ mahi varpaḥ karikrataḥ |
yat sīṃ mahīm avaniṃ prābhi marmṛśad
abhiśvasan stanayann eti nānadat ||

"Then those (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, roaring, thundering, resounding". See VVSt. 1, 204. Compare also 1, 65, 8; 10, 45, 4; 1, 94, 10; 1, 58, 2 and 4, which have all been cited above and which, like this verse, describe the forest-fire.

(4) 5, 29, 4: ād rodasī vitaraṃ vi ṣkabhāyat
saṃvivyānaś cid bhiyase mṛgaṃ kaḥ |
jigartim indro apajargurāṇaḥ
prati śvasantam ava dānavam han ||

"He then established firmly earth and heaven wide apart, even when wearing (them); he frightened the monster; spurning the swallower, Indra, opposing, smote the demon who was roaring".

Jigartim, in pāda a, is a hap. leg., and I have followed Sāyaṇa (girantam ācchādayantam), Roth (Pw), Grassmann and Ludwig in deriving it from the root *gar* or *gir* 'to swallow' and interpreting it as above. It is possible however that it may be a derivative of *gar* or *gir* 'to invoke' and signify 'crying loudly'. Or, is it a proper name and denotes a demon like the name *suṣṇa* ?

apajargurāṇaḥ, in the same pāda, has been explained differently as *ācchādanād vimocayan* (Sāyaṇa), 'making him

disgorge what had been swallowed' (Ludwig), 'swallowing' (Grassmann, *ṚV. Über.*), and 'threatening, spurning' (Roth) by the above-mentioned interpreters. The first three derive it from the root *gar* or *gir* 'to swallow', while Roth regards it as a derivative of the root *gur* (gurī udyamane). In the above translation, I have followed the view of Roth; compare the use of *apagūrya* in 5, 32, 6:

tyaṃ cid ittha katpayaṃ śayānam asūrye
tamasi vāvṛdhānam |
taṃ cin mandāno vṛṣabhaḥ sutasyoccair
indro apagūryā jaghāna.

It is the opinion of the above-named interpreters that *mṛgam*, in pāda b, like *dānavam* in d, refers to the demon Vṛtra who is referred to as *ahi* in the preceding verse: *tad dhi havyaṃ manuṣe gā avindad ahann ahiṁ papivān indro asya.*

In connection with pādas ab and Indra's 'wearing' of heaven and earth, compare 1, 173, 6: *saṃ vivya indro vṛjanaṃ na bhūmā bharti svadhāvān opaśam iva dyām* "Indra wore the earth as (also) the middle world, the mighty one wears the sky as a head-ornament". Compare also 2, 17, 2: *śūro yo yutsu tanvaṃ parivyata śīrṣaṇi dyām mahinā praty amuñcata* 'the hero (Indra), who in battles, covered his body and, by his greatness, wore the heaven (as an ornament) on his head'; and 8, 14, 5: *yajña indram avardhaya yad bhūmiṃ vy avartayat cakrāṇa opaśaṃ divi* 'the sacrifice strengthened Indra so that he unrolled the earth and made a head-ornament of the sky'.

(5) 8, 21, 11: tvayā ha svid yujā vayaṃ
prati śvasantaṃ vṛṣabha bruvīmahi |
saṃsthe janasya gomataḥ ||

"O thou strong one, may we, with thee as companion, reply to the roaring one, in the encounter with people possessing cows".

Pratibruvīmahi 'may we reply'='may we overcome', as explained by Sāyaṇa (*nirākariṣyāmaḥ*). *saṃsthe janasya gomataḥ* seems to be a periphrasis for *gosātau* 'battle for cows'; *śvasantam=garjantam,* 'one who talks loudly'.

(6) 10, 94, 6: ugrā iva pravahantaḥ samāyamuḥ
sākaṃ yuktā vṛṣaṇo bibhrato dhuraḥ |
yac chvasanto jagrasānā arāviṣuḥ
śṛṇva eṣāṃ prothatho arvatām iva ||

"Like strong horses drawing (a chariot, they have exerted themselves; yoked together, the strong ones carry the poles. When they swallow (*i.e.*, pound on the Soma shoots), making a loud sound, roaring, the sound made by them is heard like the neighing of horses".

This verse is addressed to the *grāvāṇaḥ*, the stones that press the juice from the stalks of the Soma plant. It is the opinion of the RV poets that the sound made by these pressing stones is very loud; and the author of hymn 10,94 in which this verse occurs has said of them in vv. 4, 12 that they 'make the earth resound' (*āghoṣayantaḥ pṛthivīm upabdibhiḥ*) and that they 'have rent heaven and earth with their roar' (*ā dyāṃ raveṇa pṛthivīm aśuśravuḥ*). Compare also the expressions *ślokaṃ ghoṣaṃ bharatha, abhi krandanti, arāviṣuḥ* and *krośanti* used of them in vv. 1-4 of the same hymn, and likewise 5, 36, 4 explained below.

(7) 10, 48, 6: aham etān chāśvasato dvā-dve-
ndraṃ ye vajraṃ yudhaye 'kṛṇvata |
āhvayamānān ava hanmanāhanaṃ
dṛḷhā vadann anamasyur namasvinaḥ ||

dṛḷhā vadan, in pāda d, is an unusual combination of words and difficult to interpret. This expression occurs in 3, 30, 5 *utābhaye puruhūta śravobhir eko dṛḷham avado vṛtrahā san*, which too is addressed to Indra. Sāyaṇa explains this half-verse as *uta ity āmantraṇe | he indra puruhūta purubhir bahubhir yajvabhir āhūta | yad vā devair asurebhyo rakṣārthaṃ bahuvāram āhūta | śravobhir vīryair upetaḥ ekaḥ asahāyas tvaṃ vṛtrahā vṛtra-śatror hantā san abhaye asurebhyaḥ sakāśān mā bibhīteti devān prati yad vākyam avadaḥ avocaḥ tad vākyaṃ dṛḍhaṃ satyam eva*, while Geldner, Grassmann and Ludwig translate it (*RV. Über.*) as "And, O thou that art much invoked, in fearlessness, thou hast, with renown, alone made a firm speech, as the killer of Vṛtra". "Then thou alone didst smite the solid fortress with might, without fear, as the killer

of Vṛtra, O thou that art much invoked". "And, in security, O thou that art much invoked, thou didst, through thy glorious deeds, speak alone, as the killer of Vṛtra, what is infallible", respectively in their *RV. Über.* Pāda d of 10, 48, 6, on the other hand, is rendered as 'with a powerful shout, I unbending, those that bent' by Grassmann, and as 'forcefully addressing, [I,] the not-prayer, those that prayed' by Ludwig, while Sāyaṇa has explained it as *namasvino namanavato balān nāmayitvā anamasyur apraṇati-sīlas san dṛlhā dṛḍhāni bhayajanakāni sthirāṇi vacanāni vadan.*

I am inclined to believe that Grassmann's interpretation of 3, 30, 5 is on right lines, and I therefore translate 10, 48, 6 as:

"These persons, who, talking loudly, challenging, made Indra and the vajra fight, did I smite with my weapon, making them bend, [I,] Indra, unbending, and shouting loudly at the solid (fortresses)."

Regarding the expression *dṛlhā vadan,* compare the sentence *gotrā gavām aṅgiraso gṛṇanti* 'the Aṅgirases sing at the mountains of the cows, that is, speak loudly at the mountain-fortresses imprisoning ths cows' in 6, 65, 5 (explained above) in which the poet continues with the words *vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇā ca* 'they have, by means of a spell, a magic formula, split them open'. The word *dṛlhā* refers to the same mountain-fortresses or prisons; but there is, in 10, 48, 6, nothing to correspond to the sentence *vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇā ca.* The expression *dṛlhā vadan* seems therefore to include the idea of 'breaking open' also; compare Grassmann's translation (cited above) of 3, 30, 5. The root *vad,* in *vadan,* does not signify 'to talk', but 'to make a loud sound', the sense which it has in the hymn 10, 94 addressed to the pressing stones.

(8) 1, 30, 16: śaśvad indraḥ popruthadbhir jigāya
nānadadbhiḥ śāśvasadbhir dhanāni ||
sa no hiraṇyarathaṃ daṃsanāvānt
sa naḥ sanitā sanaye sa no 'dāt ||

Compare also the expression *ṛkvabhir goṣu* 'singing towards the cows' in 6, 32, 3 (explained above) and *paṇīnr vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ* in 6, 39, 2 (explained above).

"Again and again has Indra won riches with the shouting, roaring, loudly-crying (Aṅgirases); the mighty one has given to us a chariot of gold as reward, be the rewarder to us, he to us."

There is no substantive in the verse in connection with the epithets *popruthadbhiḥ, nānadadbhiḥ, śāśvasadbhiḥ*; hence, Sāyaṇa, guided perhaps by the word *popruthadbhiḥ*, supplies the word *aśvaiḥ* after them in his commentary, and has been followed by Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner in their *ṚV. Über.*

But the root *pruth* is used in the RV in two passages only in connection with the horses, whereas it is used in five passages in connection with Agni (7, 3, 2: *prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan*), the Soma juice (10, 115, 3: *indum prothantam pravapantam arṇavam*; 9, 98, 12: *apaprothantaḥ sanutar hurāścitaḥ*), the war-drum (6, 47, 30: *apa protha dundubhe ducchunāitaḥ*), and the bull (10, 115, 2: *ino na prothamāno yavāse vṛṣā*, with the sense of 'making a loud sound'. Again, there is no other passage[1] in the RV in which Indra is described as winning riches (or anything else) with horses. And thirdly, one of the verses referred to by Geldner in his note on this verse, namely, 6, 32, 3 (this has been explained above): *sa vahnibhir ṛkvabhir goṣu śaśvan mitajñubhiḥ purukṛtvā jigāya | puraḥ purohā sakhibhiḥ sakhīyan dṛḷhā ruroja kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san* (note the occurrence of the words *jigāya* and *śaśvat* in this verse also) states that Indra, with the singing Aṅgirases, won cows again and again after shattering the solid fortresses. It hence seems to me preferable to supply a word like *aṅgirobhiḥ* (or *sakhibhiḥ*, etc.) after *śāśvasadbhiḥ*, and to translate the verse as above.

The Aṅgirases, as we have already seen (see above), sing or shout loudly a spell of truth when shattering the fortress that imprison the cows; and these mountains, it is said in 10, 108, 7:

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[1] Verses like 6, 25, 2: *anāśunā cid arvatā indro jetā hitam dhanam* belong to a quite different category, and, naturally, do not enter into consideration in this connection.

ayaṃ nidhiḥ sarame adribudhno gobhir aśvebhir vasubhir nyṛṣṭaḥ ('this treasure at the bottom of the mountain, O Saramā, is embellished with cows, horses and wealth'), held not only cows, but also horses and wealth. Compare also what has been said above in connection with *draviṇa*, and *dhana.*

(9) 8, 93, 16: śrutaṃ vo vṛtrahantamaṃ
pra śardhaṃ carṣaṇīnām |
ā śuṣe rādhase mahe ||

"I call loudly (Indra), renowned amongst you, valiant among all beings and best killer of enemies, for a great gift."

The vocative *praśardha* 'very valiant' occurs in 8, 4, 1:

yadindra prāg apāg udaṅ nyag vā hūyase nṛbhiḥ|
simā purū nṛṣūto asy ānave 'si praśardha turvaśe.

"When, O Indra, thou art called east, west, north or south by men, thou, impelled by men, stayest mostly with Ānava; O valiant one, thou stayest with Turvaśa," while, on the other hand, the particle *pra* is, in no other RV verse, used in combination with the verb *śuṣ*. It seems therefore probable that *pra śardham* in this verse is a corruption of *praśardham* (see Oldenberg, RV Noten, II,144). The meaning of *praśardhaṃ carṣaṇīnām* would be 'most valiant among beings.' Compare with this the expressions *samrājaṃ carṣaṇīnām* 'ruler of all beings' and *vṛṣabhaṃ carṣaṇīnām,* 'best of all beings' that are applied to Agni and Bṛhaspati respectively in 3, 10, 1: *tvām agne manīṣiṇaḥ samrājaṃ carṣaṇīnām | devaṃ martāsa indhate sam adhvare* and 3, 62, 6: *vṛṣabhām carṣaṇīnāṁ viśvarūpam adābhyam | bṛhaspatiṃ vareṇyam.*

In connection with *ā śuṣe rādhase,* compare 1, 17, 7: *indrāvaruṇā vām aham huve citrāya rādhase* 'I call you, O Indra and Varuṇa, for a beautiful gift.' Compare also 8, 34, 4: *ā tvā kaṇvā ihāvase havante vājasātaye.* 'The Kaṇvas call thee now for aid and for the granting of wealth'; 8, 3, 5: *indraṃ samīke vanino havāmaha indraṃ dhanasya sātaye* 'Longingly we cry for Indra in battles, for the granting of wealth.'

(10) 1, 61, 10: asyedeva śavasā śuṣantaṃ
vi vṛścad vajreṇa vṛtram indraḥ |
gā na vrāṇā avanīr amuñcad
abhi śravo dāvane sacetāḥ ||

"By his own strength, Indra cut the roaring Vrtra with the thunderbolt; he frees the rivers, like the cows, that had been confined, for fame, with a mind to give".

Regarding the roar of Vṛtra, compare 1, 52, 10: *dyauś cid asyāmavān aheḥ svanād ayoyavīd bhiyasā vajra indra te vṛtrasya yad badbadhānasya rodasī made sutasya śavasa 'bhinac chiraḥ.* "Even Heaven drew back in haste with fear from the shout of the *ahi*, when, O Indra, thy thunderbolt, in the intoxication of the pressed (Soma juice), cut off in an instant the head of Vṛtra who was oppressing the two worlds"; compare also 8, 96, 7 explained below :

(11) 1, 147, 1: kathā te agne śucayanta āyor
dadāśur vājebhir āśuṣāṇāḥ |
ubhe yat toke tanaye dadhānā
ṛtasya sāman raṇayanta devāḥ ||

"How, O Agni, did the glowing (sons of) Āyu, shouting with all their might, make offerings when the gods, conferring both sons and sons' sons, found delight in the song of *ṛta*."

I follow Geldner (*RV. Über,*) in supplying the word 'sons' after *āyoḥ* in pāda a. *śucayantaḥ* 'glowing'=glowing with piety, fervour or *tapas* (see Geldner, *ibid.*); *āśuṣāṇāḥ* 'shouting'=singing your praises loudly. Regarding the expression *vājebhir āśuṣāṇāḥ*, see Pischel's footnote in Ved. St., 1, 11.

In pāda c, *tanaye* seems to be a neuter dual (neuter gender due to the association of *toke*) and the word *ubhe* to refer to *toke* and *tanaye* as it does in 8, 103, 7: *ubhe toke tanaye dasma viśpate parṣi rādho maghonām.* 'O thou mighty lord of the clans, thou givest to the liberal (sacrificers, our patrons) both sons and sons' sons and gifts'. In the alternative, it can be regarded as locative singular, in which case the meaning of pāda c would be 'when conferring on (their) son both kinds of

offspring (*i.e.*, sons and daughters)'. This is the view adopted by Geldner in his translation of the verse (*ibid.*); see however his note on p. 186.

(12) 2, 19, 7: evā ta indrocatham ahema
śravasyā na tmanā vājayantaḥ |
aśyāma tat sāptam āśuṣāṇā
nanamo vadhar adevasya pīyoḥ ||

"Thus have we, with a desire for wealth, sent you this chant, O Indra, as those desirous of winning the prize (send horses). May we, crying out loudly, obtain the septenate; thou hast struck down (*i.e.*, turned away) the weapon of the godless reviler."

As object of *āśuṣāṇāḥ* must be understood the chant (*ucatha*) mentioned in pāda a. Regarding *sāptam*, it is difficult to say what the septenate of desired things is. According to Sāyaṇa, *sāptam* is the same as *sāptapadīnam* (*sakhyam*) or 'friendship'; and this view has been adopted by Ludwig and Geldner. Verses 5, 1, 5 and 6, 74, 1 mention *sapta ratnā* while 1, 20, 7 refers to *sāptāni ratnāni*; and, according to Skandasvāmin's commentary on 1, 20, 7, the seven jewels are either those mentioned in the verse

chatram ratho maṇir bhāryā nidhir aśvo gajas tathā |
etāni sapta ratnāni pūrveṣām cakravartinām||

or gold, silver, ruby, pearl, etc. Geldner also points out in his note (on p. 271) that the word *sāptam* (with accent on last syllable) occurs in v. 5 of hymn 8, 55 in which presents of seven kinds are mentioned.

It is the view of Roth (in the PW) and Grassmann that *sāpta* is derived from *sapti* and signifies 'prize' (*vāja*).

(13) 4, 24, 4: kratūyanti kṣitayo yoga ugrā-
śuṣāṇāso mitho arṇasātau |
sam yad viśo 'vavṛtranta yudhmā
ād in nema indrayante abhike ||

"O fierce one, the peoples shouting loudly at each other in the battle for water, are exerting themselves in the acquisition of wealth, while some clans, fighting, have acted like Vṛtra, others have acted like Indra in the encounter".

Áśuṣāṇāso mithaḥ is equivalent to *nadantaḥ* and *prati-nadantaḥ* in MBh. 6, 99, 18-20:

bherī-mṛdaṅga-paṇavān nādayantaś ca puṣkarān |
Pāṇḍavā abhyavartanta nadanto bhairavān svarān ||
bherī-mṛdaṅga-śaṅkhānāṃ dundubhīnāṃ ca nissvanaiḥ |
utkruṣṭa-siṃhanādaiś ca valgitaiś ca pṛthagvidhaiḥ ||
vayaṃ prati-nadantas tān agacchāma tvarānvitāḥ. ||

Or should we supply *tvām* as object and interpret the expression as 'calling on thee loudly, (competing) against each other'? Compare the preceding verse *tam in naro vi hvayante samīke . . . tokasya tanayasya sātau* 'Men, competing, call on him alone in the battle for the winning of sons and sons' sons'. According to this interpretation, v. 4 would be a continuation of v. 3 and the two together signify that 'men, competing with each other, call loudly on Indra for aid in the battle for the winning of sons and in that for the winning of water'.

The word *avavṛtranta*, in c, is derived by Roth (in the PW) and Grassman (*Wort.*) from the root *vṛt*. This is the view of Sāyaṇa who explains pādas cd as *yad yadā yudhmāḥ | yodhayitryaḥ viśaḥ prajā abhīke yuddhe | abhīka iti saṁgrāma-nāmaitat| sam avavṛtranta saṃvartante paraparaṃ saṃgacchante ādit tadānīm eva neme kecana bhāgyavanto yodhakāḥ indra-yante yuddhe indram icchanti.* Geldner follows Sāyaṇa closely in the translation of both these pādas, and Ludwig in that of c only, explaining pāda d as 'then many show themselves Indras in the close fight'. Grassmann's translation of d is very similar; but pāda c is translated by him as 'when, in the close affray, the fighters form themselves into troops'. This seems to indicate that he regarded *avavṛtranta* as derived from the same root as *vrā* and *vrāta* 'troop', and that he had abandoned his former opinion about its being a derivative of the root *vṛt*. It is, in fact, very doubtful if *sam* + *vṛt* can signify 'to meet, to encounter'.

Now, the denominative root *indray* occurs in the RV in this one passage only; and there can be no doubt that, as opined by Ludwig and Grassmann, it means 'they behave, or act, like Indra'. Moreover, the RV is full of references to Indra's liberation of the rivers or waters that had been imprisoned by Vṛtra; and since pāda b explicitly mentions *arṇasāti* or 'battle for the winning of water', there can (it seems to me) be no doubt that *avavṛtranta* too is derived from a similar denominative root *vṛtrate* or *vṛtayate* and signifies 'they have behaved

like Vṛtra'. It is the third person plural of the 'pluperfect tense' (see Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 364, S. 494) and is similar in formation to *adadṛhanta*, and *atitviṣanta* (see ibid. p. 365). The meaning of pādas cd is, 'While some clans fought, like Vṛtra, for confining or restricting the use of the waters, others, like Indra, fought to liberate the waters and extend their use.'

sam is an adverb and signifies 'together, at the same time' as in 8, 13, 2: *supārah suśravastamaḥ sam apsujit* and 1, 64, 8: *kṣapo jinvantaḥ pṛṣatībhir ṛṣṭibhiḥ sam it sabādhaḥ śavasāhi-manyavaḥ.*

(14) 5, 36, 4: eṣa grāveva jaritā ta in-
dreyarti vācaṃ bṛhad āśuṣāṇaḥ |
pra savyena maghavan yaṃsi rāyaḥ
pra dakṣiṇid dharivo mā vi venaḥ ||

" Like the pressing stone, this singer, O Indra, raises the chant high, making a loud sound. O liberal one, thou givest riches with the left hand; do not, O thou with bay horses, be unfavourable with the right hand ".

In respect of the comparison with the pressing stone, compare the observations under 10, 94, 6 explained above.

(15) 7, 93, 8: etā agna āśuṣāṇāsa iṣṭīr
yuvoḥ sacābhy aśyāma vājān |
mendro no viṣṇur marutaḥ pari khyan
yūyaṃ pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ ||

" May we, calling loudly, O Agni, attain these desires, and riches, in the companionship of you two (sc. Indra and Agni). May not Indra, Viṣṇu and the Maruts overlook us: protect us always with (your) blessings ".

Regarding *āsuṣāṇāsaḥ*, compare *manyamāno johavīmi* in 5, 4, 10: *yas tvā hṛdā kīriṇā manyamāno 'martyaṃ martyo johavīmi* | *jātavedo yaśo asmāsu dhehi prajābhir agne amṛtatvam aśyām.* "I mortal, who praising with a song of praise, invoke immortal thee, O Jātavedas, confer famous wealth on us—may I, O Agni, attain immortality with (my) progney" and 3, 11, 8; *pari viśvāni sudhitā 'gner aśyāma manmabhiḥ* | *viprāso jātavedasaḥ.* "May we, priests, obtain from Agni Jātavedas all benefits by means of (these) praises."

Besides the above, there are in the RV one verse, 1, 179, 4 (*lopāmudrā vṛṣaṇam nī riṇāti dhīram adhīrā dhayati śvasantam*) in which the participle *śvasantam,* and three verses, namely, 4, 1, 13 and 4, 2, 14; 16 in which the participle *āśuṣāṇa* occurs. These three verses have been explained above, while as for 1, 179, 4, it is plain that *śvasantam* signifies 'panting' here.

The words *śvasana, śvasīvas, śvasatha* and *abhiśvas,* all derived from the root *śvas,* are found used in the following RV passages:

(16) 1, 54, 5: ni yad vṛṇakṣi śvasanasya mūrdhani
śuṣṇasya cid vrandino roruvad vanā |
prācīnena manasā barhaṇāvatā
yad adyā cit kṛṇavaḥ kas tvā pari ||

This verse is addressed to Indra, and the interpretations that have been proposed by the exegetists vary widely from each other:

Yāska explains the first half briefly as *nivṛṇakṣi yac chvasanasya mūrdhani śabda- kāriṇaḥ | śuṣṇasyādityasya śoṣayitū rorūyamāṇo vanānīti vā vadheneti vā* in Nirukta 5, 16.

Durga, in his commentary on the Nirukta, explains the full verse as follows: nivṛṇakṣi nivarṇayasi yat yas tvaṃ he bhagavann indra meghaṃ hatvā śvasanasya śabdha-kāriṇaḥ vāyoḥ mūrdhani upari śuṣṇasya cit śoṣayitur api bhagavataḥ ādityasya vrandinaḥ mṛdu-bhāva-kartuḥ | ādityena hi paripacyamānam saṃstabdham api badara-tindukādi mṛdū-bhavati tasmād asau vrandī | tasyāpy evam-karma-kāriṇo maṇḍalaṃ praty ūrdhvam roruvat stanayitnu-śabdaṃ kurvāṇaḥ vanā vanāni vikṣipasi | ūrdhvam adhaśca vanāni udakāni vikṣipataḥ na te śakti-pratīghāto 'stīty abhiprāyaḥ | pakṣe vanā ity eṣa śabdo megha-vadheneti prayojyaḥ | udaka śabdaś caitasmin pakṣe 'dhyāhāryo nirvacanasambandhāt | prācīnena prāg-añcitena adīnena tasmin karmaṇy abhimukhena manasā barhaṇāvatā hiṃsāvatā yad adyācit adyatvepi tvaṃ karma kṛṇavaḥ karoṣyeva asukaram anyaiḥ tasmād bravīmi kas tvā pari | konyas tvām upari vartate | tvam-eva sarva-bhūtāni parigṛhya vartasa ity abhiprāyaḥ ||

Similar are the explanations of Sāyaṇa in his RV commentary and of Skandasvāmin-Maheśvara in their scholium on the Nirukta.

The same Skandasvāmin's explanation however of this verse in his commentary on the RV varies from the above and reads as follows: yat yasmāt nivṛṇakṣi niyamena hatavān asi | śvasanasya śvāsa-kāriṇaḥ mahā-śvāsasyety arthaḥ | mūrdhanı mūrdhānaṃ mastakaṃ | śuṣṇasya šuṣṇa-nāmno 'surasya| vrandinaḥ atyanta-balavatvāt para-balānāṃ mṛdū-kartuḥ | atyanta-balavatā ityarthaḥ | roruvat śabdaṃ kurvan | vanā vana-śabdas tīkṣṇa-vacanaḥ | tīkṣṇena vajreṇa | vadha-vacanaḥ sāmarthyād vana-śabdaḥ | vadhena prahāreṇetyarthaḥ | prācīnena prāg-añcitena gatena aparāṅ-mukhena | utsāhavatetyarthaḥ | manasā | barhaṇāvatā vṛddhimatā hiṃsāvatā vā | yat yasmāt | adyācit adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ karoṣi īdṛśāni karmāṇi | tasmāt kasıvāpari kas tavādhikaḥ kas tavopari | sarvasya tvam uparītyarthaḥ ||

Grassmann (*RV. Über*): "When, raging, thou hurlest down the spear on the head of the panting, devouring Śuṣṇa, if with strong aspiring courage thou wouldst act even today, who is there that can hinder thee?"

Geldner (*RV. Über.*); " When, (treading) on the head of the panting already lying Śuṣṇa, thou, roaring, tearest down the trees with confident aspiring mind,—if thou wouldst do so even today, who will stop thee?"

Ludwig: "wenn du nider schlägst an des brausenden [Luftstroms] spitze des Śuṣṇa geschloszene haufen, gewaltig brüllend die wälder, mit vorwärts-gerichtetem sinne, mit starkgefestigtem, [und] auch [bei dem], was heute du tun wirst, wer ist dabei dir?"

Now, as observed by Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 160) Indra ' releases the waters shattering Śuṣṇa's forts (1, 51, 11) obtains the receptacle of waters (*krivi*) in smiting Śuṣṇa (Vāl. 3, 8) or wins heavenly (*svarvatīḥ*) waters when he destroys the brood of Śuṣṇa (8, 40, 10)'; and as our verse mentions the smiting of Śuṣṇa Yāska and the other commentators named above seem to be right in holding that *vanā* signifies 'waters.'

Macdonell has also observed (*ibid.* p. 59) that 'conquering in the waters' (*apsujit*) is the exclusive attribute of Indra, and that 'Indra, being frequently described as slaying Vṛtra in the present or being invoked to do so, is regarded as constantly renewing the combat, which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomena'. This observation holds

good of the slaying of Śuṣṇa also; and in fact, it is the opinion of Sāyaṇa (*cp.* his explanation: vāyunā sūrya-kiraṇaiś ca vṛṣṭā āpaḥ sūryasyopari punar avasthāpyante / tad eva avasthāpanam indraḥ karotīty ucyate/...yad yasmāt adyācit adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ gharma-kale sūryasyopari bhaumān rasān avasthāpayasi varṣāsu varṣayasi) and of Skandasvāmin-Maheśvara (*op. cit.* adyāpi kṛṇavaḥ karoṣy evedaṃ karma) that pāda c refers to Indra's repetition, in the present, of the same exploits. I therefore translate the verse as follows:

"When thou smitest down on the head of the strong and roaring Śuṣṇa even, and when, shattering, thou drivest the waters, even now, with a forward-inclined and mighty spell, who is there by thy side?"

Regarding *śvasana,* note Yāska's explanation of it as *śabda-kārin* 'making a loud sound.'

vanā, in pāda b, should be construed as the object of both *roruvat* and of kṛṇavaḥ. The expression *roruvad vanā* occurs in pāda c (*akrandayo nadyo roruvad vanā*) of verse 1 also of this hymn and Roth regarded it (see Geldner, *RV. Über.*, p. 63, note on 1, 54, 1) as a participle of the root *ru* 'to shatter, to rend.' This meaning fits the context well in this verse; compare 1, 32, 1: *ahann ahim anv apas tatarda pra vakṣaṇā abhinat parvatānām.* 'He (sc. Indra) killed the serpent, shattered the waters and pierced through the inwards of the mountains'; 6, 30, 5: *tvam apo vi duro viṣūcīr indra dṛḷham arujaḥ parvatasya* 'Thou, O Indra, hast shattered on all sides the waters and the doors, the solid fortress of the mountain'; and 4, 16, 8: *apo yad adriṃ puruhūta dardaḥ.* 'When thou didst shatter the waters and the mountain, O thou that art much invoked.' Compare also 3, 31, 5: *vīḷau satīr abhī dhīrā atṛndan prācāhinvan manasā sapta viprāḥ.* 'The seven bards bored the (waters) that were in the fortress and drove them out with a forward-turned spell' (see above); and note that Indra's killing of śuṣṇa is mentioned in v. 8 (*sataḥ-sataḥ pratimānaṃ purobhūr viśvā veda janimā hanti śuṣṇam*) which follows immediately vv. 5-7 (these verses form one group; see above), and that the words *prācā hinvan manasā* are parallel to the words *prācīnena manasā kṛṇavaḥ* of our verse.

In the alternative, it is possible to regard *roruvat* as the participle of *ru* 'to cry,' and to interpret it as 'roaring.' *vanā* would then be the object of *kṛṇavaḥ* only, while, as the object of *roruvat*, we have to understand the "spell" (*manas*) mentioned in pāda c.

Regarding *vanā kṛṇavaḥ*, compare also 10, 130, 9: *apo mahīḥ...indra yās tvam vṛtratūrye cakartha* 'the mighty waters which, O Indra, thou didst drive forward on the occasion of the conquest of Vṛtra,' and likewise the observations above regarding *kaḥ*.

manasā=by means of a mantra or spell (of truth); see above.

The question *kas tvā pari* 'who is there by thy side?' is merely a rhetorical device adopted by the poet to state the fact that there was no one by the side of Indra to aid him in these exploits, and that Indra performed them single-handed. Compare the statements in v. 4 (*tvaṃ divo bṛhataḥ sānu kopayaḥ...*) and in v. 6 (*tvam āvitha naryaṃ turvaśaṃ yadum...*) of the same hymn where the poet lays stress on the word *tvam*; compare also likewise the other verses also of this hymn and note how the poet extols in this hymn the greatness of Indra only.

(17) 1, 140, 10: asmākam agne maghavatsu dīdihy
adha śvasīvān vṛṣabho damūnāḥ |
avāsyā śiśumatīr adīder
varmeva yutsu parijarbhurāṇaḥ ||

"O Agni, shine on our liberal (patrons); thou art a roaring bull, friend of the house. Throwing down the (mothers) with children, thou, speeding, hast shone like armour in battles."

The meaning of the expression *avāsyā śiśumatīḥ* in pāda c is obscure. According to Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 145) the *śiśumatīḥ* are either (1) the mothers of Agni represented as a young child, or (2) the Waters which Agni leaves resting on the surface while he himself rises to heaven, or (3) the woods and plants which Agni burns and throws down, as it were. I am inclined to think that the reference is to the *araṇīs* that produce Agni by friction.

(18) 8, 96, 7: vṛtrasya tvā śvasathād īṣamāṇā
viśve devā ajahur ye sakhāyaḥ |
marudbhir indra sakhyaṃ te astv
athemā viśvāḥ pṛtanā jayāsi ||

"O Indra, the All-gods, who were your friends, forsook you and fled in haste from the roar of Vṛtra. Let there be friendship, O Indra, between you and the Maruts; then thou canst vanquish all these armies."

The incident referred to here is thus described in Ait. Br. 3, 20, 1-2:

Indro vai Vṛtraṃ haniṣyan sarvā devatā abravīd: anu mopātiṣṭhadhvam upa mā hvayadhvaṃ iti | tatheti taṃ haniṣyanta ādravan | so 'ven:māṃ vai haniṣyanta ādrāvanti | hantemān bhīṣayā iti | tān abhi prāśvasīt | tasya śvasathād īṣamāṇā viśve devā adravan | Maruto hainaṃ nājahuḥ | prahara bhagavo jahi vīrayasvety evainam etām vācaṃ vadanta upātiṣṭhanta | tad etad ṛṣiḥ paśyann abhyanūvāca *vṛtrasya tvā śvasathād īṣamāṇā*...|| "Indra, verily, when about to slay Vṛtra said to all the gods: 'Keep close to me; call out to me (encouragingly).' Agreeing to this, they rushed forward to kill Vṛtra. He observed 'They are rushing forward to kill me; well, I shall frighten them.' He roared towards them; the All gods, fleeing in haste from his roar, ran away.[1] The Maruts however did not abandon him (Indra); they kept close to him, crying out, 'Smite, lord; kill, have courage.' Seeing this, the seer cried out, *vṛtrasya tvā*..."

Compare 6, 17, 10: *Yena navantam ahiṃ saṃ piṇag ṛjīṣin* with which (thunderbolt) O strong one (Indra thou didst strike down the roaring *ahi* (Vṛtra)' and also Mbh., 3, 100, 13: *jñātvā balasthaṃ tridaśādhipaṃ tu nanāda Vṛtro mahato ninādān | tasya praṇādena dharā diśaś ca khaṃ dyaur nagāś cāpi cacāla sarvam.*

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1. Compare Mbh. 6, 92, 17: bhūyaś ca vinanādograṃ krodhasaṃraktalocanaḥ | trāsayāmāsa sainyāni yugānte jalado yathā and *ibid*. 6, 93, 11-12: tvaramāṇo Vṛkodaraḥ || prayayau siṃhanādena trāsayan sarva-pārthivān.

(19) 10, 92, 8: sū́raś cid ā́ harí̄to asya rīramad
indrā́d ā́ kaścid bhayate tavī́yasaḥ ||
bhīmásya vṛ́ṣṇo jaṭhárād abhiśváso
divédive sáhurih stann ábādhitaḥ ||

"He stopped the bay mares of this sun even. Every one is afraid of the stronger Indra, of the roar from the stomach of the fierce bull. The conquering one thunders every day unimpeded."

We have thus seen that in one passage (1, 179, 4) the root *śvas-śuṣ* signifies 'to pant, to breathe,' and that it has the meaning of 'to make a loud sound, to shout, to roar' in all the other RV passages in which verbal forms or participles of that root occur; and we have likewise seen that *śvas* has the latter meaning in the derivatives *śvasana, śvasīvas, śvasatha,* and *abhiśvas* in the *RV* passages in which these words are used.

It is interesting to note in this connection the close parallel that is offered by the verb *phūt + kṛ* which occurs frequently in classical Sanskrit literature. The original meaning of *phūt — kṛ* is 'to breathe out, to blow': and it has this sense in, for instance, the *Textus Simplicior* of the Pañcatantra (BSS ed. of Tantra I by Kielhorn, 1896), p. 83-1: *atha kecid vānarā vahni-kaṇa-sadṛśāni guñjā-phalāni vicitya vahni-vāñchayā phūt-kurvantaḥ samantāt tasthuḥ.* From this meaning has developed that of 'to make a loud sound, to cry out loudly' which *phūt+kṛ* has in *ibid.* 30-2: *tataḥ kṣaṇāc cetanaṃ labdhvā bhūyopi samut-thāya phūtkartum ārabdhaḥ | bho Āṣāḍhabhūte kva māṃ vañc-yitvā gato'si* ; 35-11: *etasminn antare sā duṣṭā ūrdhva-bāhū vidhāya phūtkurvatī gṛhān niścakrāma,* and also in *ibid.* Tantra V (Bühler's ed. of 1891), p. 41-4: *te'pi tāḍyamānā eke mṛtā anye bhinna-mastakāḥ phūtkartum upacakramuḥ.* But while the lexicographers have recognised in the case of *phūt + kṛ* that it has the latter-mentioned meaning also (see Apte, PW, etc.), they have not done so in the case of the root *śvas-śuṣ.*

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ŚATAKATRAYĪ

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI.

In the course of preparation of a definitive critical edition of the *Śatakas* [*nīti, śṛṅgāra, vairāgya*] ascribed to Bhartṛhari and familiar to every student of Sanskrit literature, the most puzzling of the many problems that arose was of the authorship. Of course, a view has been propounded, which we shall have to consider later on, that the Śatakas are a mere anthology, so that discussing the author would be futile. But admitting for the moment the possibility of a unitary authorship, can anything be said about the author himself?

1. There are four major claimants, besides the actual author or authors of the Śatakatrayī stanzas, for the honour of being labelled *the* Bhartṛhari, namely. (1) The 7th century grammarian known as author of the *Vākyapadīya*. (2) A king of Central India, of unknown date. (3) A pontiff of the Kānphāṭā sect of ascetic almsmen. (4) The pseudo-Bhartṛhari [or pair!] who wrote the *Vijñānaśataka* and (or) the *Viṭavṛtta*. The last of these may be disposed of very quickly, but the first three have legends that have overlapped or even overlaid each other ; inasmuch as we have nothing better to go upon, these legends must be discussed in some detail. Before making the best of such doubtful evidence, the name itself may be considered for a moment.

The form given in most MSS is Bhartṛhari. A common mislection is Bhartṛhara, even Bhatṛhari or Bhatṛhara; in the south, particularly in Telugu country or MSS influenced by Telugu sources, the name is pronounced and usually written Bharttulahari or Bharttṛlahari. Aufrecht, in his catalogue of Bodleian Sanskrit MSS reports the variant Bhartṛhema from MS No. 247. However, the name itself might be merely Hari, with a prefix ; at least, Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary *Vidyullatā* on the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, commenting on the compound *katipaya* gives parallels from the *Vairāgyaśataka* with the note *iti Harivacanāc ca*. Several MSS at the Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain (particularly the colophons of Nos. 669,

711, 6360, 782, 6064] give the author or translator into Marāṭhī as Harikavi, which has caused a good deal of confusion, but the most reasonable interpretation seems to be that Harikavi is merely the equivalent of Bhartṛharikavi. At the end of the first kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya, Harivṛṣabha occurs, taken again as a reference to the grammarian author Bhartṛhari, but here at least there is the possibility that this may indicate some Harivṛṣabha as having commented upon the first kāṇḍa while Helārāja, to whom the commentary on both the sections is ascribed, commented only upon the second section. Taking Hari as the name, the prefix *bhartṛ* of unknown honorific or dedicatory significance like the *bhā* of Bhāviveka, Bhāmaha, Bhāravi, does not help much in dating the author. There are known with the same prefix, a kṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman [A.D. 284-9], son of Rudradāman II. Bhartṛsvāmin, author of the difficult grammatical poem *Rāvaṇavadha* or *Bhaṭṭikāvya* belongs to the period 500-650, and is some times identified with the author of the *Śatakatrayī* though only on the grounds that *Bhaṭṭi* in Prākrit is the equivalent of Bhartṛ. One Bhartṛprapañca flourished *circa* 500; Bhartṛyajña who commented upon Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtras* before 800; Bhartarīśvara [=*Bhartṛ* +*īśvara*] is cited by Umbeka in his commentary upon Kumārilabhaṭṭa. The anthologies contain verses by Bhartṛmeṇṭha or simply Meṇṭha, who wrote under the poet-king Mātṛgupta of Kaśmīr; verses are also found ascribed to Bhartṛsārasvata. The prefix, by itself, cannot therefore date our poet, though it seems to show that the date could hardly be pushed back beyond the opening centuries of the Christian era.

2. *The Grammarian.* This particular Bhartṛhari is fairly easy to eliminate. He closes the long line of outstanding grammarians who shine from Pāṇini down, being the one able successor of Candragomin. Something definite of his life is known from the narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing [*A record of the Buddhist Religion*..., Trans. J. Takakusu, Oxford 1896] who travelled in these parts in A.D. 671-695. His narrative fixes the death of the grammarian Bhartṛhari as A.D. 651-2. I-tsing's account on pp. 178-180 with Max Muller's discussion on p. xiv identify this Bhartṛhari quite conclusively as the author of the *Vākyapadīya*. The only reason, however, for ascribing the *Śatakas* to him seems to originate from I-tsing's statement [p. 179] that he became seven times a priest only to return to the laity. This is supposed to fit the

"dual personality of the Indian", forever oscillating between the two opposed poles of sensuous enjoyment and ascetic renunciation. Unfortunately for this sort of criticism, I-tsing speaks of his grammarian-monk with evident admiration because he left the monastery whenever he felt that the impure thoughts which entered his mind might sully its precincts. In fact, Bhartṛhari died a lay-brother, *upāsaka*. A voluptuary who came because of dissatisfaction and went back to enjoy himself would have been mentioned only with contempt, even if the monastic rules of the seventh century had been lax enough to permit him such constant alternation. Of course, there is no mention of the grammarian having composed the *Śatakatrayī*, or even one of the *Śatakas*. To this must be added the fact that not only in the critical text under preparation where I have had to restore *juhvantam*, *ādhikyatama*, etc., but even in all the smoothest MS versions known of the *Śatakas* there occur solecisms like *śikṣatu* which no strict grammarian could possibly tolerate, and one sees that the author of the *Vākyapadīya* is an unlikely candidate for the honour. The same argument applies, incidentally, against the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, which is an epic poem deliberately written to illustrate grammatical forms, and read for that purpose rather than as poetry. Allowing for the maximum development any hard-working intellectual could be expected to achieve, it seems unlikely that a single mind could stretch from the formidable difficulties of Sanskrit grammar so ably handled in these works to the brilliant expression and loose syntax of the Śatakas At this point, one may as well dispose of the legend started by the learned but optimistic G. Bühler, who conjectured in answer to Takakusu's inquiry [p. 225] that the *Pei-na* which I-tsing stated to be the grammarian's best work might be the *Beḍāvṛtti*, a commentary on the *Janmāmbhodhi*—supposedly a philosophical work of the type reported. The MS. of which the name prompted Bühler's conjecture is in the Bombay Government collection at the BORI, being No. 277 of 1873-4=381 of 1879-80. It has nothing whatever to do with Bhartṛhari, or grammar, or philosophy, or even poetry, being a work on astrology [*phalajyotiṣa*] written or copied in 1650 A.D. by a Jain called Rāmachandra, pupil of Sumatisūri.

My learned friend and former colleague Dr. V. V. Gokhale of the Fergusson College, Poona, has tentatively restored from

the original Chinese the stanza of Bhartṛhari reported by I-tsing [p. 179]; as

rāgān nivarte saṃsāram nirlobhī cīvaraṃ vase |
katham etad dvayen' āsmi bālavat parihāsitaḥ ||

Of the nearly 900 stanzas that I have found ascribed to our poet Bhartṛhari by various sources, not one approaches this remotely. Of the stanzas in the Śatakas, just one, *i.e.*, *maṇiḥ śāṇollidhaḥ* is utilized in the Vākyapadīya commentary (II) by Helārāja, and then not specifically ascribed to any one.

3. *The King.* In the history of Tāranātha [Schiefner, *Tāranāthas Geschichte d. Buddhismus*, p. 195] there is a reference to a king of Mālava by this name, in the form Bharthāri [which is approximately the form still found in MSS from Rājputānā, *i.e.*, Bharatarī or Bharatharī]. This Bhartṛhari's sister was married to Govicandra, and the king himself descended from an old line, not then extinct, of Mālava kings. The time is given very approximately as that of Dharmakīrti's death or later; if the logician Dharmakīrti is meant, and any credence can be given to Tāranātha's vague narrative, the king Bhartṛhari must be taken as having lived not earlier than the end of the seventh century A. D. No further information about the king is given. However, the mention of the thaumaturge Jālandhara a page or two later shows that this Bhartṛhari is unquestionably connected with the next on our list.

4. *The Nātha Bhartṛhari.* George Weston Briggs's standard work *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphāṭā Yogis* [Calcutta, 1938] contains most of what is generally known about the sect, though very little occurs there which could be of any use in our problem. Some of the chronology is rather mixed, as the Vikramāditya whom Briggs [p. 244] puts at 1076-1126 would presumably be the hero of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*, ruler of Kalyāṇī and not Ujjain, certainly not the brother of our Bhartṛhari, who is mentioned as a poet long before that date. The one indigenous unutilized source-book I have been able to find is the *Navanāthabhaktisāra* [cited as *NNBS*], a Marāṭhī version of the unpublished *Gorakṣa Kimiyāgāra.* This rendering in *ovī* metre covers 40 adhyāyas, and was promulgated in śaka 1741=1819 A.D. by one Mālū Naraharī, son of Dhuṃḍī. The story of Bhartṛhari, one of the nine chief leaders of the Nātha sect is given mainly in adhyāyas 24-30 of the *NNBS*. The name supposedly means a begging bowl;

bharatarī mhaṇatī bhikṣāpātrāsī [*NNBS* 1-88; 24-11] perhaps related to the Hindi *bartan.* The hero was born of the seed of the deathless sage Maitrā Vāruṇī ejected into his almsbowl, which conceived thereby; none of the nine siddhas given in the final śloka of *NNBS*:

Gorakṣa-Jālandhara-Carpaṭāś ca
Aḍbaṅga-Kānīpha-Machindarādyāḥ
Courangi-Revāṇaka-Bhartri-sañjñā
bhūmyām babhūvur navanāthasiddhāḥ

was born of woman. Bhartri here is syncopated from Bhartṛhari. He was able to understand the language of animals, which enabled him to help Vikrama obtain the kingdom of Ujjain, for this, Vikrama regarded him as his brother [bandhū mānilā bhāvārtheṃ *NNBS* 27-61], and bestowed a kingdom upon him. Having lost his beloved consort Piṅgalā, Bhartṛhari remained incosolable upon the cremation ground till Gorakṣnātha turned up, restored not one but twenty-five identical Piṅgalās by his superhuman powers, so converted the king to asceticism whereby he assumed his place among the nine principal leaders (some lists show 84 and even more) of the sect.

The play *Bhartṛharinirveda* by Hariharopādhyāya shows how popular this theme of Bhartṛhari's renunciation is among modern poets, but there is no evidence—in spite of the marginal "bharatharī" in MSS—to show that king Bhartṛhari or Nātha Bhartṛhari ever wrote any poetry. The palpably interpolated stanza '*yāṃ cintayāmi*' which is found in many Northern versions gives, according to all commentators of the *Śatakas,* a different reason for the renunciation. One would have imagined that the composers of the *Gorakṣa Kimiyāgāra* would have been literate enough to add Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* to the triumphs of their sect, but there is no evidence to that effect. Of course, modern Nāthapanthīyas make up for this; for example, MS A_3 of my critical edition has the marginal dedications *Jālandhara* or *Nātha.* Rājendralal Mitra reported in his *Notices* [X, 3325] a MS of the *Vairāgyaśataka* with a commentary by Śrī Mīnanātha, who should be the Nāthasiddha of that name, perhaps identical with Matsyendra or Macchindernāth. Possibly, some of this is due to confusion with Central Indian kings of ancient days whose names began with Bhartṛ. Tod reports in his "Rājasthān" the tradition that the city of Bhartehwar was founded by king Bhartṛhari. Purohit Gopi Nath, in the preface

to his edition of the Śatakatrayī speaks of the former residence and a *samādh* of Bhartṛhari at Alor, near Sehwan on the Indus [*see also* Sobhrāj Nirmaldas in the J. Sind Historical Soc. Vol. VII, Pts. 1-2, July 1944, pp. 1-5], where the royal ascetic is supposed to have lived in exile. I am told that at or near Alwar there is another funerary monument of Bhartṛhari, as a place of pilgrimage for Kānphāṭā yogis; one more *samādh* is recorded by Briggs [p. 102] at Tilla, while followers of the sect have a shrine of some sort in Chunar fort though the cave of Bhartṛhari is shown near Ujjain. Apart from this extensive necrosis, we have the *NNBS* 40-94 tell us that the *siddhas* moved about openly till *śaka* 1710 [though *NNBS* records Bhartṛhari's birth at 3103 of the Kali era], and then disappeared into their secret places, Bhartṛhari's being pātāḷa; at the same time, several of them—not, apparently, including Bhartṛhari—took their leave of this earth in śaka 1000 [*NNBS* 23-173].

Naturally, all this does not enable us to date the Bhartṛhari concerned; the most we can conclude is that it is difficult for any ordinary mortal to extract historical information from the confused accounts of the Nāthapanthīya tradition. For the traditional association of Bhartṛhari with the Vikramāditya who is supposed to have established an era at 57 B.C., one can discover even less real support. Analysing the Vikrama tradition, it seems to me that the first Vikramāditya is the Gupta king of the 6th century, the actual era of about 57 B.C. dating less probably from the victory of a single great though unidentifiable king than from the approximate period of a popular Brahmanic revival which pushed back invaders all over the country. I base this upon a study of the two prophecies in the Āraṇeyaparvan of the Mahābhārata [adhyāyas 183-186 in V. S. Sukthankar's critical edition], combined with the account in the Kalki purāṇa, the story of the Jain ācārya Kālaka, and finally the coincidence [as nearly as can be ascertained from the earliest recorded dates] of the Kalki and the Vikrama era. One can hardly look for the accurate placing of the younger brother of a historical fiction.

5. *The two pseudo-Bhartṛharis.* The fourth group may also be disposed of without any trouble. The *Viṭavṛtta* is Madras Government MS. D. no. 11983, bound together with what purports to be a sort of commentary on it by one Mādhava, the *Jaḍavṛtta*, D. no. 11970. The ascription of the

former to Bhartṛhari rests upon the following stanza in the latter:

upakṛtaye viṭavṛttaṃ paṭumatir akaroj janasya bhartṛhariḥ
jaḍamatinā jaḍavṛttam mādhavanāmnā mayā tu racitam idam.

The only stanza in the rather obscure *Viṭavṛtta* which I have been able to find anywhere else is the maṅgalācaraṇa, namely *nitambālasagāminyā..*, which does occur as no. 10 in the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (or rather ascribed to Vallabhadeva, for it seems to be virtually identical with the unpublished *Subhāṣitāvali* of Śrīvara in the BORI MS collection).

The *Vijnāśataka* was published, as a work of Bhartṛhari, edited by Krisṇaśāstrī Bhāūśāstrī Ghule at the Gorakṣaṇa Press, Nagpur 1897. The edition is long out of print, though one copy exists in the Bhandarkar collection at the BORI, while another was received on loan by courtesy of MM. V. V. Mirashi, Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur. This latter copy has [on the margin, in red ink] variants noted from the original MS, which MS itself is apparently the fourth Śataka of Bhartṛhari referred to without details in the preface to Hiralal's Catalogue of MSS in Central India. There is a current edition of the *Vijñānaśataka* published by the Gujerati Press, Bombay, first issued in 1905. Though the order of the stanzas [of which two are omitted altogether] and some minor readings differ, I have been unable to ascertain whether this edition derives from another MS or from a mere arbitrary rearrangement of the Nagpur edition, [the latter seems the likelier alternative,] and there isno reason to believe that any other MS of the *Vijñānaśataka* exists except the one owned by the Ghulē family at Nagpur. The Ghulē MS was found in the collection of the editor's great-grandfather Sadāśiva, in a rather damaged condition. A colophon claims the work for Bhartṛhari while the final śloka makes it the fourth of the *Śatakas*. The editor himself believed it to be authentic on these grounds plus an occasional similarity of phrase with the *Śatakatrayī*; to others however, including MM. Mirashi, [not to speak of myself], it seems clearly a late and not particularly able forgery. For our purpose, it suffices to note that not a single one of the stanzas of either the *Viṭavṛtta* or the *Vijñānaśataka* is found in any

MS of Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrayī in spite of the fact that the MSS of the Śatakatrayī that I have been able to collect show a total of well over 600 different stanzas; nor is any such stanza ascribed to Bhartṛhari in any anthology, no. 10 of the Subhaṣitāvali being labelled *Viṭavṛttasya*. Kṛṣṇamachariar reports a *Śāntipaddhati* of Bhartṛhari published in Bombay, which I am unable to trace; it may be the *Śāntiśataka* of Śilhaṇa.

6. *The poet Bhartṛhari.* Nothing has been said in all the foregoing that can be regarded as a positive contribution to the authorship problem as regards the Śatakatrayī. As for the Śatakatrayī being an anthology, it will be seen from a paper of mine in the next issue of the JBBRAS that there is a substantial nucleus of the stanzas left after discarding those not found in all established versions. Though the work could not originally have been a Śatakatrayī, there is some sort of a common source for all the extant MSS, so that at best one can say that the anthology is of stanzas ascribed to Bhartṛhari, though the compendium was probably made long after the author's death. Now a poet Bhartṛhari is mentioned in the literature, so that an attempt at tracing him might be worth while.

Somadeva, in the fourth *āśvāsa* of his *Yaśastilakacampū* [959 A.D.] puts Bhartṛhari in the long list of the great poets, *mahākavis*, who spoke favourably of the almsman's life [Kāvyamālā 70, II, p. 113]. Somadeva's list contains such great names as Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, but also some others of whom nothing is known; technically, a *mahākavi* must deal with an epic theme in a connected narrative poem, or drama, but we might waive the point here and take the epithet literally, because nothing is known of Bhartṛhari beyond [at most] the quasi-anthological *Śatakas*. Somadeva's is the earliest dated reference to a poet Bhartṛhari. Pandit Bhiṣmācārya, in his *Mahānubhāva* [old Marāṭhī] grammar of the 13th century gives an example of a simile "*jāisā bhartṛharicā vairāgya*", which is rather ambiguous, being more likely to refer to king Bhartṛhari's renunciation than to the author of the Vairāgya-śataka. If the king could be dated with or without reference to the date of Dharmakīrti and Gorakṣanāth as not decidedly earlier than the 13th century, we can dispose of the royal authorship of the Śatakas because there is an indisputable citation of our poet in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* [1304 A. D.] of the Jain ācārya Merutuṅga. The legend repeated in the last section of

that work was unquestionably not of recent origin; it gains interest by containing elements of the combined sagas of our first three Bhartṛharis. That is, according to Merutuṅga, not Bhartṛhari but his father is a grammarian who worships Gaṇeśa and succeeds in obtaining at the risk of his own life direct grammatical instruction for six months from the divine teacher. He then returns to Ujjain, is cared for by a prostitute [*veśyā*] on whose doorstep he had fallen asleep during the night from exhaustion caused by the journey, has a disputation at court, and becomes famous as the outstanding grammarian. Then he marries four wives, one from each of the major castes, and has a son by each, the one begotten of the *kṣatriya* wife being Vikrama; Bhartṛhari is son of the lowest, the *śūdra* woman while the other two brothers are not named in this particular version. The poor outcast has to sit in a cellar below his socially admissible brothers and signal understanding by tugging at a rope leading to his teacher, who teaches Sanskrit to all four. In a fit of anger at Bhartṛhari's obtuseness the tutor calles him *re veśyaputra*, son of a whore, which may be only a term of abuse, but is reminiscent of the hospitable meretrix who sheltered the grammarian father. The narrative at this point is further obscured by the fact that the stanza *dānaṃ bhogo nāśas* which is being explained by the pedagogne is unquestionably authentic in Bhartṛhari's Śatakas while the śloka *āyāsaśatalabdhasya* with which the cantankerous pupil Bhartṛhari is supposed to have countered occurs in the *Tantrākhyāyikā* without attribution, and is found in one of the two hundred odd MSS of the Śatakatrayī which I have personally examined, being reported in only one such MS anywhere, *i.e.* in Telang's MS *A* [Kāthavaṭe].

The real importance of Merutuṅga's story derives from its concluding phrase *tena bhartṛhariṇā vairāgyaśatakādi prabandhāni bhūyāṃsi cakrire*. This must be the poet in whom we are interested, whatever the credibility of the legend, and we may be certain that the Vairāgyaśataka was well established by the 13th century A.D. while its author had become legendary, or such a report would not have gained currency. To anticipate what belongs to a later discussion, let us state that the Vairāgyaśataka comes out very badly stripped by the critical editor's work, not more than 30 stanzas being above suspicion while not more than about 55 could be included as authentic on the most generous canon of textual criticism. The other two

Śatakas are much better off with approximately 75 stanzas each.

As a matter of fact the Merutuṅga legend is also unreliable. P. von Bohlen cites in the preface to his edition of the *Śatakas* the authority of Colebrooke and a MS of Śivadāsa's *Vetālapañcavimṣati* to the effect that Bhartṛhari and Vikrama were sons of king Candragupta. Mr. Seshagiri Śāstri [Ind. Ant. I, 314] records an undocumented legend making Bhartṛhari the son of a Brahmin Chandra gupta, again with Vikram the son by a *kṣatriya* wife, etc, The full legend can be found recorded in its southern version by K. V. Subrahmaṇya Sāstri, formerly Sanskrit Pandit at the Madura College, in his *Śankarācāryacaritram*. Here the Merutuṅga story of the father is paralleled (except that the *veśyā* is replaced by a *vaiśyā*) but we see that the real strength of the tradition comes from the line of Indian grammarians, later connected with the origin of the Vedantic doctrine. The father is the Brahmin Candraśarmā, reincarnation of Patañjali, he frees Gauḍapāda from a curse which turned him into a *rākṣasa,* learns the *mahābhāṣya,* transcribes it on leaves, and then reaches the royal court (presumably at Ujjain) to marry his four wives for the spread of the grammatical doctrine into all castes.

It seems to me that all the elements of the other parallel legends can be resolved here by identifying Candraśarman or Candragupta with the grammarian Candragomin, while Bhartṛhari would be the Vākyapadīya author. This saga of the grammarians cannot be traced far back from written records, but one finds a good version in Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's *Patañjalicaritam* [Kāvyamālā 51] where the story is fairly well given along the lines just traced, and Bhartṛhari is called author of the *Vākyapadīya,* in viii-11, while viii-10 ascribes the three *Śatakas* to him. We are back again where we started.

7. *Minor legends.* A Bhartṛhari mentioned in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa can be our poet but not the king. The stanza is *jayanto bhartṛharaye lakṣasvarṇena varṇayan ; bhuktvā bhartṛharis tatra yogārūḍho vanam yayau.* The Bhartṛhari who would accept a hundred thousand pieces of gold from the unkonwn Jayanta, enjoy the bounty, and then betake himself to the forest as an ascetic would, if he existed, be rather the poet than the king. It is interesting to note that the *Nītisāra* section of the *Garuḍamahāpurāṇa* contains stanzas which occur

in the *Śatakas*, but according to Dr. A. P. Karmarkar (to whom I owe both these paurāṇic references) the latter *purāṇa* in its present form belongs to the post-Madhvācārya period.

Eminent Jains usually identify the *Śatakatrayī* author with that of the *Vākyapadīya*. This stand was taken at one time, though abandoned soon, by the vetern Jain scholar Śrī Nāthūrāma Premī in the preface to his edition of Śubhacandra's *Jñānārṇava* [Rāyacandra-jaina-śāstramālā 5-7-9, Bombay NSP 1907]. This preface gives on pp. 9-14, a Hindī translation of Śubhacandra's "biography" from the *Bhaktāmaracaritra* of Viśvabhūṣaṇa, pupil of Anantabhūṣaṇa, which make Śubhacandra and Bhartṛhari twin princes; Bhartṛhari takes to yogic practices, but is converted to Jainism by the superior powers of the twin. In support of Bhartṛhari having been a Jain, Śrī Premi cited the Vairāgyaśataka stanzā

ekākī niḥspṛhaḥ śāntaḥ pāṇipātro digambaraḥ |
kadā'haṁ sambhaviṣyāmi karmanirmūlanakṣamaḥ ||

Now, although we have a considerable number of unquestionably Jain MSS for the *Śatakatrayī* critical apparatus, including many of the Dhanasāra version, this stanza never occurs as reported here. It is quite as authentic as any other, and one of the very few that has no real variants. But the correct reading of the third quarter is *kadā śambho bhaviṣyāmi*, the changed reading enables *digambaraḥ* to be taken as meaning Digambara Jain, but there is actually no MS evidence for it. Śrī Premi further reported [p. 4 of his preface] the *Rāhatakāvya* as a work of Bhartṛhari, but cannot recall his source now. Not only have I been unable to find any notice of any such work by Bhartṛhari or anyone else, but the word *rāhata* does not seem to be Sanskrit at all. There is such a Hindi word meaning luxury or dissipation.

8. *Text criticism*. There is nothing left for it but what we can get about the author from the work itself, seeing that external evidence is so scanty as well as so confused. A favourite type of unsound argument is that of K. T. Telang, who concluded that Bhartṛhari was later than Kālidāsa but a good deal earlier than the sixth century! The arguments, given on p. xiii *et seq.* of Telang's preface to his edition (Bombay 1893) of the *Nīti* and *Vairāgya* are risible because he had not a critical text before him, either of the *Śatakas* or of works like the *Pañcatantra*. This lack has been remedied in

later time, and we find in Edgerton's reconstruction of the oldest level of the Pañcatantra that a certain number of stanzas there are found in our texts. In particular *satyānṛtā ca paruṣā* seems to be common to both. Though the grounds on which these stanzas were admitted by Edgerton's may not in all cases be the same as those on which we admit our own stanzas in the critical edition of the *Śatakas*, it still seems reasonable to assume that the earliest genuine stanzas of the *Nītiśataka* date from the opening centuries of the Christian era, tentatively, not later than about the 3rd century. As for the stanza common to Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari, *bhavanti namrās taravaḥ* which occurs in Śākuntala V as well as the *Nītiśataka* [all versions], we can then say that Kālidāsa must have taken it from the proverbs current in his day—which day would presumably be the Gupta period. The *Vākyapadīya* Bhartṛhari would be eliminated by this, and also the Nātha guru, whether indentical with Tāranātha's king or not. The references to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, to *śaka* maidens, to the Ardhanāri Śiva, are each open to objection as omitted in one or more well-determined versions; none of them can be used for dating the text as a whole.

There is nothing specifically Buddhist or Jainistic about the *Śatakas*. It will, however, surprise most readers to learn that there is also nothing really Vedantic about them. The stanza *ekākī niḥspṛhaḥ* is genuine, but the mention of Śambhu there is perfunctory; the śaivite mangalācaraṇa stanza *cūḍottaṃsitacārucandrakalikā* is also genuine, but hardly deep Vedānta; dedication to some god or goddess of the sort is customary, though it says little about the actual religion of the writer. For example, the Buddhist Harṣa's *Nāgānanda* is charged with Gaurī worship. All the usually familiar vedāntic stanzas in Bhartṛhari, as for example most of those in the southern *paddhati* labelled *avadhūtacaryā* drop out of any critical text based upon the evidence as a whole. The thoroughly vedāntic mangalācaraṇa *dikkālādyanavacchinna* is also not original, though apparently a fairly early addition. One might as well call him a Vaiṣṇana because his name was Hari, or because of *itaḥ svapiti keśavaḥ*.

Looking at the verses as a whole, in any text, version, or recension, one is struck as was Winternitz [Geschichte d. Indischen Literatur III, 137], by the marked impression of unitary authorship. The truth of the matter is, obviously, that

a certain type of stanzas had been associated with the name of Bhartṛhari from the earliest times, and these attracted others by similitude (as in the case of the easily removed vedantic accretions) which rounded out the work. The only explanation for the remarkably divergent versions combined with the manifest desire in even the oldest (16th century) MSS to include all possible Bhartṛhari stanzas can come by assuming a later popularity for the work combined with early neglect. Taking only the authenticated stanzas, we find an unquestionable note of frustration dominant throughout: *boddhāro matsaragrastāḥ prabhavaḥ smayadūṣitāḥ, abodhopahatāś cānye jīrṇam aṅge subhaṣitaṃ.*—The learned were consumed by jealousy, the lords of the earth by pride, and the rest too ignorant, so that the poet's epigrams had to wilt within him. The *vairāgya* desired by Bhartṛhari is always to be in the future conditional, not actually experienced, the *śṛṅgāra* again smacks less of a voluputary's practice tnen unsatisfied desire taken out in literary exercise of the imagination.

The background of the poet's figures of speech and phraseology is unquestionably Brahmanical, though not in the sense of argumentative religious contrast with other sects. No king who had renounced would have given the advice of the stanza *agre gītaṃ*: "If before you you have the songs of accomplished southern poets and behind you the tinkle of ornaments worn by whisk-bearing attendant maidens, then be a glutton for worldly pleasures; if not, O! mind, hasten to enter into undisturbed contemplation". But the ordinarily Brahmanical turns are quite convincing: in *na kaccic caṇḍakopānām*, he says that the king's wrath burns even those who serve him as does the fire its officiating priest. If one has wealth, caste be consigned to the nether world: *jātir yātu rasātalam*. Why read the scriptures [*kiṃ vedaiḥ smṛtibhiḥ purāṇapaṭhanaiḥ śāstrair mahāvistaraiḥ*] when everything but realization of the inner spiritual joy is mercenary [*vaṇigvṛttayaḥ*], shopkeeper's practices? When begging, the pious high-caste people whose doors are dark with the smoke of many sacrificial fires are to be approached by prference: *puṇye grāme vane vā...ādāya nyāyagarbhadvijahutahutabhugdhūmadhūmropakaṇṭham*. Still restricting ourselves to reasonably well-confirmed stanzas, we can say that Bhartṛhari shows no acquaintance with any trade or profession except that of a hungry poet. The śloka *dīnā dīnamukhaiḥ* says, in effect: "If he did not visualize his wife

as seen by other men to be miserable, sad of countenance, always surrounded by pitiful, crying, hungry children, what man of self-respect would beg for the sake of his own accursed belly in quavering broken words that die in his very throat for fear of refusal?" It would not be surprising if such a writer had to await the rise of a considerable, Sanskrit-knowing, technically competent class before he could find his due measure of appreciation. He was aware of the poet's type of immortality:

jayanti te sukṛtino rasasiddhāḥ kavīśvarāḥ
nāsti yeṣām yaśaḥkāye jarāmaraṇajanmabhīḥ

This matches Horace's "Exegi monumentum aere perennius", and the fervent hope "Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei, Vitabit Libitinam."

Yet, could he have foreseen the future, it must have been a peculiarly galling thought to him, after having suffered all the misery and shame that peeks through his verses, that far from living as an actual person in future ages, even his existence would one day be in doubt, to be thrashed out as a serious question in a painful and inconclusive manner by helpless scholars.

INDU, THE AUTHOR OF THE ANUNYĀSA

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN.

In his note 'Author of the Anunyāsa' in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. XV, pt. 1, pp. 25-7), Sri K. Madhava Krishna Sarma has given extracts from the Paribhāṣāvṛtti of Sīradeva to show clearly that the general impression about Maitreyarakṣita being the author of the Anunyāsa is wrong, that one Indu was the author of that work, and that not only were the two, Indu and (Maitreya) Rakṣita different persons, but these two writers differed from each other in their views.

The Durghaṭavṛtti composed by Śaraṇadeva in A.D. 1172 (*TSS edn.*) is a work earlier than Sīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti, and the evidence of that work supports the finding of Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma. Śaraṇadeva quotes the Anunyāsa fourteen times and Indu once. The point discussed in the second extract from Sīradeva made by Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma occurs in the Durghaṭavṛtti in two places, pp. 64 and 67. In the second instance, Indu[1] is expressly mentioned and Rakṣita is immediately referred to as differing from him. Dr. T. R. Chintamani draws my attention in this connection, to the separate mention of Anunyāsa and Rakṣita as two distinct authorities by Ujjvaladatta also.[2]

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1. Indu, the grammarian, is quoted in the Mādhavīya-dhātuvṛtti too, under Bhvādi, p. 667, Mysore edn.

2. *See* RASB. Catalogue, Vol. VI, Ms. No. 4360.

HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN INDIA

A few questions deserving further investigation and elucidation

BY

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Tradition, as well as the oldest Purāṇas, mentions Brahmā as the Fountain-head and source of all Knowledge, including the Āyurveda. The ancient Egyptians deified and worshipped, as the God of Healing, Imhotep. May it not be that Imhotep is only a currupt form or variant of the pronunciation of the word Brahmadev? Brahma is also known as Dhātā and Thoth is one of the foremost Gods of ancient Egypt, where temples were built for the God, Thoth.

No reference can be traced to Dhanvantari in the early Vedic or Upanishadic literature. He appears first in the Epics, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata, etc. He is not mentioned in the older lists of the Founders and Teachers, of Āyurveda like Brahmā, Indra, Aśvins, Bharadvāja, Ātreya, etc. He is said to be the son of the King of Kāśī and was later regarded as one of the 24 Avatars of Viṣṇu and deified and worshipped, probably by a section, not willing to worship the older Vedic Deity of Healing, Rudra the Vaidyanātha. The usual explanation of the name is that he is one concerned with the healing of the wounds caused by the Bow (Dhanva) but the Sanskrit Scholars and philologists are not agreed on the derivation of the word or its meaning. One possibility is that about the begginning of the Christian era, or a little earlier, the frequent political and commercial contacts between India and Egypt might have brought into the country some habits, and knowledge as well as deities and traditions, amongst which one may be the importation of the Egyptian God of Healing, who was, by then, known as a human being, a vazier of the King, deified as the God of Healing. In all the pictures, the Egyptian God of Healing is represented as a person carrying a Bow and hence the name Dhanvan or Dhanvantar.

Ancient Vedic tradition and the Puranic story agree about the stealing of the Vedas by a Non-Āryan, called Somaka, probably a follower of the Cult of the Soma Juice or a scion of the Lunar Race. It is said that Viṣṇu took the

shape of a fish, chased the man through the seas and down into the waters and killed him and rescued the Vedas. Two interesting conjectures are permissible:

(*a*) The Āryans were recording their Knowledge, their history or rituals and procedures to enable successive generations to derive the full benefit of the accumulated wisdom of the ages. But when the non-Āryans began to steal their Knowledge and secrets of power, they immediately decided not to commit to writing anything of value. Hence the sudden disappearance of all kinds of records.

(*b*) The second conjecture is that the knowledge or Vedas stolen by Somaka found a way into ancient Egypt or Assyria and were preserved there as Papyri and Tablets respectively.

The story of the churning of the ocean by Devas and Dānavas to obtain ambrosia or immortal drink, occurs first in our Purāṇas. The story is now known to have a historical and pictorial basis in the records and sculptures of ancient Assyrians and Babylonians. The incorporation of the story and tradition into the Hindu Epics and tradition may be due to the usual custom of the ancient world to borrow and incorporate ideas, knowledge, traditions, procedures from the neighbouring or advanced cultures and peoples. Even a cursory perusal of the names and customs of the people of Ur of the Chaldeans is bound to impress one with the close resemblances between the two cultures and their legends.

The Aśvins are the earliest physicians or surgeons mentioned in the Vedas, as the people who give first-aid on the battle-field and also relief to the maimed and the sick. The early medical tradition also gives them a very important place as teachers and practitioners of the science of life. They are later referred to as Aśvinīkumāras, the sons or followers of the cult of Aśvins. They are heard of in many places and in different ages, or epochs. They were always youthful. Take up a book on the mythology and medicine of Ancient Greece, the cradle of European medicine, and civilisation. Centaurs, fancifully described as monsters with the body of the horse and the head of human beings, are the respositories of wisdom and go about giving medicines and succour to people in distress. The God of Healing is Aesculapius, which sounds like and suggests Aśvinakula. The father of medicine was called Hippocrates and it is likely there were

many of that name before and after him. Hippo means horse and Crates signifies a man. Probably, Hippocrates belonged to a family who called themselves so, on account of their traditional devotion to the study and practice of medicine as the Aśvinīkumāras did in India or it may be that he took this name after his wanderings in the Orient, in search of knowledge.

Not only the Gods of healing but also the votive offerings in the temples of Greece and the interpretation of dreams, bear close resemblance to Indian culture. But the most intriguing word is "Cos," the island of Cos, famous as the Greek centre of medical education and medical relief. Certainly, *Kāśī* on the Ganges was famous all over the ancient world as a centre of learning and medical education, even in the days of Buddha and Cos may be no other than an echo or borrowed name, to indicate a centre of knowledge and medical teaching. The practice of borrowing place names or names of heroes was an established custom even in those days.

The early medical texts of India are lost. The lectures of Ātreya, Professor of Medicine in the University of Takshsila, were recorded by his six or eight pupils. Only the notes of one or two of his disciples (Agniveśa, Bhela) have survived and were later redacted by Caraka etc. These classics have all the characteristics of the early books of ancient India being discussive dialogues. But, the Suśruta Saṁhitā appears suddenly as a ripe and well arranged compendium and from the manner, method and contents, appears to be a much later production. Sanskrit Scholars and Puranic Pandits give it a hoary antiquity, some sending it back to Tretāyuga and Viśvāmitra, others placing it in the pre-Buddhistic era, while the more critical minds are not prepared to give it a date earlier than the first or second century A.D. It is also generally believed that Nāgārjuna edited and added to it the Uttara Tantra. Who this Nāgārjuna was and when he lived are still to be settled. But, from the advanced knowledge and practice of dissection of human body, and also from the systematised and simple manner, free from extravagant metaphysical and philosophical discussion, one would be inclined to think that the book is also not indigenous to India and that it was a new book imported into the country from the school of Alexandria, probably a work of *Erasistras* the greatest anatomist and surgeon of Pre-Christian era. The word Sistras has either by

usage or by a deliberate change become Suśruta, not a farfetched or unimaginable variation, when one remembers the transformations the names of Hindu kings have undergone in the records of the Greek writers and the curious modifications that the Greek and foreign names have assumed in Indian records, history and languages. A well-known book on Medicine of the famous Roman writer Celsus might have been put into Sanskrit garb and in Indian setting. The first half of the word Cel disappears and the second half Sus, remains. Or a book of some foreign author was put into Sanskrit, on account of the novelty, utility and readableness of the book and given the attractive title Suśrutam, one that is good to hear. It may be that both factors might have been at work, in the naming of the work.

One of the famous books of the School of Salerno, Regimen Sanitas was used as a textbook in medieval Europe for centuries, on account of the wealth of ideas and the elegance of presentation of these ideas in the form of a poem, easily readable and memorised. The credit for introducing this book to Europe belongs to Constantine the Africanus, a scholar of Carthage, who studied in and then trecked through the Orient studying for 30 years and collecting books and translating them. The original of the Regimen may be no other than Cāru Caryā, beautiful living, a poem in Sanskrit written by Bhoja (or Kṣemendra) or the Sūtrasthāna of Suśruta or Vāghbaṭa dealing with Principles of healthy living and personal hygine.

BOOK REVIEW

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF ANDHRA HISTORY by M. Somasekhara Sarma. Department of History. Economics and Politics. Andhra University. Price Rs. 2.

Very little is known of the History of the Telugu country during the period which immediately followed the downfall of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal at the close of the first quarter of the 14th century A.D. The Muhammadan historians, no doubt, occasionally lift the veil of obscurity and throw a ray of light which only serves to intensify the gloom. The present monograph brings to light for the first time several important facts unknown to students of South Indian History, and gives an authoritative account of the genisis and growth of a national movement which under the able leadership of the famous Musunuri chiefs Prolaya and Kapaya resulted in the overthrow and expulsion of the Muhammadans in Telingana and the re-establishment of Hindu independence not only in Andhra but also in the whole of South India. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has laid all the students of Medieval South Indian History under a deep debt of gratitude by bringing to light new sources of information which lay hidden for centuries in the obscure corners of the country. Of the three copper plate charters, the Vilasa Grant of Prolaya Nayaka, Prolavaram grant of Kapaya Nayaka, and the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli (Appendices I, II, III) on which the monograph is chiefly based, the discovery and publication of the first two are due to his indefatigable activity. The monograph is divided into six sections. The first deals with the Muslim invasions of Telingana and the downfall of the Kakatiyas; the second gives a vivid account of the condition of the country under the rule of the Muhammad bin Tughluq; the third describes the Hindu reaction and the formation of a National league under the leadership of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka; the fourth and fifth narrate the history of the war of independence and the reign of Kapaya Nayaka. These are supplemented by six appendices. In the first three are given the texts of the three inscriptions mentioned above; and the last is devoted to a discussion of the reign of Bahmany Sultan, Muhammad Shah I.

Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has dealt with the problem which he has undertaken to investigate in a masterly fashion. His intimate acquaintance with the sources of information has enabled him to bring to light facts which lay hidden in obscure corners and present a vivid picture of the activities of the Hindu League of Independence which succeeded within a short time in overthrowing the Muslim power. The events of the reign of the Kapaya Nayaka and his relations with the Velamas and the Sultans of the newly founded kingdom of Gulbarga are described here for the first time. The Monograph, small though it is, is a valuable contribution to South Indian History. The Andhra University deserves to be congratulated for securing the services of such a great scholar and investigator as Mr. Somasekhara Sarma and it is to be hoped that he will continue his investigations and enrich our knowledge of South Indian History.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.

OBITUARY NOTICES

It is with very great sorrow that we record here the demise of some of our well-known Scholars, Panditas and Orientalists:

Dr. Heinrich Lüders of Berlin died on 7th May, 1943, from heart failure, and his wife fell down dead while returning from Berlin with some of her husband's manuscripts. Dr. Otto Stein of the Prague University was deported to Poland in October, 1942, where he and his wife died in April, 1943. On 6th October, 1944, at Edinburgh passed away Dr. A. B. Keith, a great authority on Dominion and Constitution Law and an Orientalist whose contributions on Sanskrit have been most voluminous. Among other eminent Orientalists whom we have lost during these darks years of the war are Mrs. Rhys Davids, E. H. Johnston, H. Zimmer, Sir Aurel Stein, Th. Stcherbatsky, Stanislaw Schayer and Carlo Formichi of Italy.

An eminent Orientalist whose demise South Indian scholars will greatly bemoan, Prof. G. Jonvean-Dubrenil of Pondichery, passed away in Paris on 14th July, 1945. To him we owe many a discovery in the filed of South Indian archaeology and art.

On 23rd January, 1944, we lost Mahāmahopādhyāya Arthaśāstra viśārada Dr. R. Shama Sastri of Mysore.

On 27th January, 1946, we lost one of our well-known anthropologists in the death of Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao at Bangalore.

Early this year, Sri P. P. S. Sastri, M.A., B.A. (Oxon), Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Madras, and sometime Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library passed away. He was a member of the old Committee of this Journal, and a Life Member of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

Other Indian Scholars and Panditas whom we have lost are Principal V. K. Rajwade of Poona, authority on Veda and Nirukta, Prof. Kokilesvar Sastri, Vedantic Scholar of Calcutta, Mahāmahopādhyāya Tata Subbaraya Sastri, Principal of the Vizayanagaram Sanskrit College, Pandit N. Santanam Ayyar, editor of some Navya Nyāya books for the Adyar Library and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar of Tanjore, author of some of the translations in the Adyar Library Series.

श्रीः

॥ अथ अनुमानलक्षणम् ॥

साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानम्। व्याप्यं साधनम्; व्यापकं साध्यम्; व्याप्तिः अविनाभावः। सा चाविनाभावसंशब्दिता व्याप्तिः द्विविधा—अन्वयव्याप्तिर्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिश्चेति। अन्वयमुखेन व्याप्तिरन्वयव्याप्तिः; व्यतिरेकमुखेन व्याप्तिर्व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः। साधनसद्भावे साध्यसद्भावोऽन्वयः; साध्याभावे साधनाभावो व्यतिरेकः। अन्वयनियमोऽन्वयव्याप्तिः, साधनसद्भावे साध्यसद्भावनियमोऽन्वयव्याप्तिरित्यर्थः। साध्यसामान्येन साधनसामान्यस्यानुगम्यमानता यथा—यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निरस्त्येवेत्यग्निना धूमस्यानुगम्यमानता। व्यतिरेकनियमो व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिः, साध्याभावे साधनाभावनियम इत्यर्थः। साधनसामान्याभावेन साध्यसामान्याभावस्यानुगम्यमानता यथा—यत्राग्निर्नास्ति तत्र धूमोऽपि नास्त्येवेति धूमाभावेनाग्न्यभावस्यानुगम्यमानता। तदेवं व्याप्यं साधनम्; व्यापकं साध्यम्; साधनमेव धर्मः साधनधर्मः; साध्यमेव धर्मः साध्यधर्मः; साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानम्। एतदुक्तं भवति फलतः-साधनधर्मविशिष्टधर्मी[र्मि]दर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानमिति। यदि वा साधनं धर्मो यस्यासौ साधनधर्मा; तस्य साधनधर्मणो दर्शनं साधनधर्मदर्शनम्; तस्मात् साधनधर्मदर्शनात् साध्यधर्मविशिष्टे धर्मिणि बुद्धिरनुमानमिति कण्ठोक्तमेव। तदुक्तम्—

"असिद्धेनैकदेशेन गम्यः सिद्धेन बोधकः" इति।

भाष्यकारेणाप्युक्तम्—

"एकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरे असन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे बुद्धिः" इति।

द्विविधमनुमानं सामान्यतोदृष्टम्, विशेषतोदृष्टं च। नित्यानुमेयार्थविषयं सामान्यतोदृष्टम्; यथा—देशान्तरप्राप्तिलिङ्गादादित्यगत्यनुमानम्। कार्यता[र्यात्] कारणानुमानं सामान्यतोदृष्टमिति केचित्। यथा—विद्युदादिकार्यदर्शनात् तत्कारणं किंचिदस्तीत्यनुमानम्। प्रत्यक्षयोग्यार्थविषयं विशेषतोदृष्टम्। यथा—धूमादग्न्यनुमानम्। विशिष्टलिङ्गेन विशिष्टलिङ्ग्यनुमानं विशेषतोदृष्टमिति केचित्। यथा—चन्दनधूमेन चन्दनाग्न्यनुमानम्। तत्पुनर्द्विविधम्—स्वार्थं परार्थं च। परोपदेशानपेक्षं स्वार्थम्; परोपदेशसापेक्षं तु परार्थमिति। परोपदेशस्तु पञ्चावयवं वाक्यम्। प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनान्यवयवाः। प्रतिज्ञोपदेशनिदर्शनानुसन्धानप्रत्याम्नाया अवयवा इत्यर्थः॥

तत्र हेत्वाकाङ्क्षाजनकं पक्षवचनं प्रतिज्ञा। यथा—मिथ्या जागरितमिति। तृतीयापञ्चम्योरन्यतरविभक्त्यन्तं साधनवचनं हेतुः। यथा—दृश्यत्वेन दृश्यत्वादिति। स त्रिविधः—अन्वयव्यतिरेकी, केवलान्वयी, केवलव्यतिरेकी चेति। तत्र पञ्चरूपो ऽन्वयव्यतिरेकी; चतूरूपस्तु केवलान्वयी, केवलव्यतिरेकी च। नैतच्चतूरूपत्वमनयोर्लक्षणम्, किन्त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकिलक्षणस्य पञ्चरूपस्य व्यभिचारनिराकरणार्थमेतद्वचनम्। रूपाणि पुनः—पक्षधर्मत्वम्, सपक्षे सत्त्वम्, विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः, अबाधितविषयत्वम्, असत्प्रतिपक्षं[क्षत्वं] चेति। प्रतिपिपादयिषितधर्मविशिष्टो धर्मी पक्षः; तद्व्यापकत्वं हेतोः पक्षधर्मत्वम्। साध्यसमानधर्मा धर्मी सपक्षः, साधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः सपक्ष इत्यर्थः; तत्र वृत्तिमात्रं हेतोः सपक्षे सत्त्वम्। साध्यव्यावृत्तधर्मा धर्मी विपक्षः, वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तो विपक्ष इत्यर्थः; तस्मिन् हेतोरगमनं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः। प्रमाणाविरुद्धे प्रतिज्ञातार्थे वृत्तिरबाधितविषयत्वम्। साध्यतद्विपरीतयोः साधनस्य त्रिरूपत्वमसत्प्रतिपक्षत्वम्—एतानि पञ्चरूपाण्यन्वयव्यतिरेकिणो विद्यन्त इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकी पञ्चरूपः। विपक्षाभावेन विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्त्यभावात् केवलान्वयी चतूरूपः। सपक्षाभावेन सपक्षवृत्त्यभावात् केवलव्यतिरेक्यपि चतूरूप एव। नैतदनयोर्लक्षणम्, किं तु पूर्वोक्तस्यान्वयव्यतिरेकिलक्षणस्य पञ्चरूपस्यातिव्याप्तिपरिहारार्थमेतद्वचनम्, लक्षणस्यानयोरग्रे वक्ष्यमाणत्वात्; अन्यस्य च व्यभिचारित्वात्॥

तत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकी द्विविधः—सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः, सपक्षव्यापकश्चेति। तत्र सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—मिथ्या जाग्रद्भेदो धर्मी, प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात्, सप्त[स्वप्न]प्रपञ्चवदिति। सपक्षव्यापको यथा—मिथ्या जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चः, दृश्यत्वात्, स्वप्नप्रपञ्चवदिति। अथवा जन्मवदाकाशम्, अनित्यगुणाश्रयत्वादिति सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः। विभक्तत्वादिति सपक्षव्यापकः। पक्षव्यापकस्सपक्षवृत्तिरविद्यमानविपक्षः। केवलान्वयी, पूर्ववद् द्विविधः; तद्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादिः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मो न भवति, दृश्यत्वादिति सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः, प्रसिद्धत्वादिति सपक्षव्यापकः; पक्षव्यापको विद्यमानविपक्षोऽपि सपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तः केवलव्यतिरेकी यथा—वाङ्मनसगोचरातीतः प्रत्यगात्मा, बोद्धृत्वात्; यस्तु वाङ्मनसगोचरातीतो न भवति स बोद्धापि न भवति, यथा घटादिरिति। प्रसङ्गद्वारेण वा—नेदं जीवच्छरीरं निरात्मकम् अप्राणादिमत्त्वप्रसङ्गात्, लोष्टवदिति। एतेन सर्वहेत्वाभासानामहेतुत्वमुक्तं भवति॥

हेतुलक्षणरहिता हेतुवदवभासमाना हेत्वाभासाः। असिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकानध्यवसितकालात्ययापदिष्टप्रकरणसमसप्रतिसाधना हेत्वाभासाः। तत्रानिश्चितपक्षवृत्तिरसिद्धः। पक्षविपक्षयोरेव वर्तमानो विरुद्धः। पक्षत्रयवृत्तिरनैकान्तिकः। साध्यासाधकः पक्ष एव वर्तमानोऽनध्यवसितः। बाधितप्रतिज्ञानन्तरमुपन्यस्तः कालात्ययापदिष्टः। पक्षप्रतिपक्षयोस्त्रिरूपः प्रकरणसमः। एकत्र तुल्यलक्षणविरुद्धहेतुद्वयोपनिपातो विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी सप्रतिसाधनः॥

तत्रासिद्धो द्वादशविधः—स्वरूपासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, स्वयंप्रभत्वात्। अधिकरणासिद्धो यथा—बहवः पुरुषाः, सुखदुःखादीनां व्यवस्थितत्वात्। विशेषणासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः, स्वयंप्रभत्वे सति नानारसत्वात्। विशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—[परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः]नानारसत्वे सति स्वयंप्रभत्वात्। भागासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थः प्रपञ्चः, चाक्षुषत्वात्। आश्रयासिद्धो यथा–सन्ति परमाणवः, द्व्यणुकादिक्रमेण कार्यारम्भकत्वात्। आश्रयैकदेशासिद्धिर्यथा—नित्या जीवेश्वरपरमाणवः, अनादित्वात्। व्यर्थविशेषणासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, जडत्वे सत्यबाध्यत्वात्। व्यर्थविशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—परमार्थसत्यं द्वैतम्, अबाध्यत्वे सति जडत्वात्। सन्दिग्धासिद्धो यथा—धूमबाष्पादिविवेकानिश्चये कश्चिदग्निमानयं प्रदेशः, धूमवत्वात्। सन्दिग्धविशेषणासिद्धो यथा—अद्यापि क्लेशदूषितबुद्धी कणादाक्षपादौ, अद्याप्यनुत्पन्नतत्त्वज्ञानत्वे सति पुरुषत्वात्। सन्दिग्धविशेष्यासिद्धो यथा—अद्यापि क्लेशदूषितबुद्धी कणादाक्षपादौ, पुरुषत्वे सति सर्वदा तत्त्वज्ञानरहितत्वात्। एतेऽसिद्धभेदाः यदोभयवाद्यसिद्धत्वेन विवक्षितास्तदोभयासिद्धा भवन्ति। यदोभयवाद्य[यदान्यतरा]सिद्धत्वेन विवक्षितादताः [विवक्षिताः]तदान्यतरासिद्धा भवन्तीति ॥

विरुद्धोऽष्टविधः। तत्र सति सपक्षे चत्वारो विरुद्धाः। पक्षविपक्षव्यापको यथा—सत्यं जागरितम्, अज्ञानकल्पितत्वात्। विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः पक्षव्यापको यथा–सत्यो जागरितत्द्भेदो[तभेदो]धर्मी प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात्।[सपक्ष]विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा–सत्यं जागरितं धर्मि, प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात्। पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापको यथा—वाय्वाकाशे महाभूते न भवतः,स्पर्शवत्त्वात्। असति सपक्षे चत्वारो विरुद्धाः। पक्षविपक्षव्यापको यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादिः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, प्रसिद्धत्वात्। पक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतकर्तृत्वादि(तंदिकं गतचिदाभासेन) परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, धर्मफलत्वात्। पक्षव्यापको विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—विवादास्पदीभूतः कर्तृत्वादिः परमार्थत आत्मधर्मः, कर्मफलत्वात्। विपक्षव्यापकः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वं जडं चिदात्मनि कल्पितम्, अनादित्वात्। ननु चत्वार एव विरुद्धभेदाः, नान्ये, तेषामसिद्धलक्षणोपपन्नत्वेनासिद्धत्वम्; नैष दोषः, उभयलक्षणोपपन्नत्वेनोभयव्यवहारविषयत्वात्; तुलायां प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारवत् ॥

अनैकान्तिकोऽष्टविधः। पक्षत्रयव्यापको यथा—सत्यं जागरितम्, प्रसिद्धत्वात्। पक्षव्यापकः सपक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—वेदैकसमधिगम्यः प्रत्यगात्मा, पुरुषार्थत्वात्। पक्षसपक्षव्यापको विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—गौरयम्, विषाणित्वात्। पक्षविपक्षव्यापकः सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—नायं गौः, विषाणित्वात्। पक्षत्रयैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—इन्द्रियाणि वाक्चक्षुःपाणिपादाः, ज[ज्ञा]नोत्पत्तौ साधकतमत्वात्। पक्षसपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापको यथा—पृथिव्याकाशौ महाभूते, अमूर्तत्वात्। तत्र विपक्षत्वाभिमते ब्रह्मणी सगुणनिर्गुणे। पक्षविपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः सपक्षव्यापको यथा—न महाभूते पृथिव्याकाशौ, अमूर्तत्वात् ॥

षोढानध्यवसितः । अविद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—सर्वं क्षणिकम्, रसत्वात् [सत्त्वात्] । अविद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वं क्षणिकम्, कार्यत्वात् । विद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—नित्या भूः, गन्धवत्त्वात् । विद्यमानसपक्षविपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—नित्ये भूजले, गन्धवत्त्वात् । अविद्यमानविपक्षो विद्यमानसपक्षः पक्षव्यापको यथा—सर्वं जडं नित्यम्, बाध्यत्वात् । अविद्यमानविपक्षो विद्यमानसपक्षः पक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्यथा—सर्वं जडं परमार्थसत्यम्, उत्पत्तिमत्त्वात् । अनध्यवसितोऽसाधारणानैकान्तिको नाम कश्चिदनैकान्तिकभेदो न पृथक् हेत्वाभास इति केचित् । अस्मिंस्तुऽपक्षेऽनिश्चायकत्वं संशयहेतुत्वं चानैकान्तिकसामान्यलक्षणं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

कालात्ययापदिष्टः षड्विधः । प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धो यथा—अनुष्णोऽग्निः, कार्यत्वात् । अनुमानविरुद्धो यथा—चक्षू रूपोपलब्धिं न करोति, इन्द्रियत्वात् । शास्त्रविरुद्धो यथा—अग्नीषोमीयादिरनर्थहेतुः, प्राणिप्रमापनत्वात्, वृथाप्राणिहिंसनवत् । अर्थापत्तिविरुद्धो यथा—नायमग्निर्दाहशक्तिमान्, द्रव्यत्वात् आकाशवदिति । उपमानविरुद्धो यथा—नायं गवयो गोसदृशः, चतुष्पात्त्वात्, अश्ववदिति । योग्यानुपलब्धिविरुद्धो यथा—अश्वादयो विषाणिनः चतुष्पात्त्वात् गोवदिति । अनुभवविरुद्धो यथा—विवादास्पदीभूताः कामसंकल्पादयो मनोधर्मा न भवन्ति, जनिमत्त्वात्, घटवदिति ॥

प्रकरणसमस्योदाहरणम् यथा—नित्यः शब्दः, पक्षसपक्षयोरन्यतरत्वात्, सपक्षवदिति ॥

सप्रतिसाधनस्योदाहरणम्—बुद्धिपूर्वा वेदाः, वाक्यत्वात्, लौकिकवाक्यवत् । अबुद्धिपूर्वा वेदाः, अहरहर्व्यवह्रियमाणत्वे सत्यस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकत्वात्, आत्मवदिति ॥

सम्यग्दृष्टान्ताभिधानमुदाहरणम् । सम्यगभिधानमुदाहरणमित्युक्ते प्रतिज्ञादेरप्युदाहरणत्वप्रसङ्ग इति दृष्टान्तग्रहणम् । दृष्टान्ताभिधानमसम्यगप्यस्तीति सम्यग्ग्रहणम् । व्याप्तिग्रहणभूमिर्दृष्टान्तो यत्र स्थित्वान्वयव्यतिरेकिव्याप्तिग्रहणम् । यत्र लौकिकपरीक्षकाणां बुद्धिसाम्यं दृष्टं स दृष्टान्तः, तस्य सम्यगभिधानमुदाहरणम् । तद्द्विविधम्—अन्वयमुखेन दृष्टान्ताभिधानं साधर्म्योदाहरणम्, यथा—मिथ्या जागरितं दृश्यत्वात्; यद्दृश्यं तन्मिथ्या, यथा स्वप्नदृश्यमिति । व्यतिरेकमुखेन दृष्टान्ताभिधानं वैधर्म्योदाहरणम्; यन्मिथ्या न भवति तद्दृश्यमपि न भवति, यथा दृक्स्वरूपमिति । एतेनोदाहरणाभासानामनुदाहरणत्वमुक्तं भवति ॥

उदाहरणलक्षणरहिता उदाहरणवदवभासमाना उदाहरणाभासाः; ते च द्वादशविधाः—षट् साधर्म्योदाहरणाभासाः, तथा षड्वैधर्म्योदाहरणाभासा इति । मनसो नित्यत्वमात्रविशेषवादिवैशेषिकैकदेशीयः कश्चिद्वैशेषिकं प्रत्याह—अनित्यं मनः, मूर्तत्वादिति; तस्मिन्नेव प्रयोगे सर्वेऽप्युदाहरणाभासाः प्रदर्श्यन्ते । यथा—

यद्यन्मूर्तं तत्तदनित्यं दृष्टम्, यथा परमाणुरिति तद्दृष्ट्या साध्यविकलम् । यथा कर्मेति साधनविकलम्। यथा आकाशमिति उभयविकलः। यथा वन्ध्यापुत्र इति आश्रयहीनः। घटवत् इति अनुगमः। यन्नित्यं तन्मूर्तं दृष्टमिति विपरीतानुगमः। अन्त्यौ तु वचनदोषौ। एते षट् साधर्म्योदाहरणाभासाः। यत्तु नित्यं तन्मूर्तमपि न भवति यथा परमाणुरिति साधनव्यावृत्तम्। यथा कर्मेति साध्यव्यावृत्तः। यथा घट इति उभयव्यावृत्तः। यथा वन्ध्यापुत्र इति आश्रयहीनः। आकाशवदित्यव्यावृत्तः। यन्मूर्तं न भवति तदनित्यं न भवति, यथाकाशमिति विपरीतव्यावृत्तः। अत्राप्यन्त्यौ वचनदोषौ। एते षड्वैधर्म्योदाहरणाभासा इति। अन्ये तु सन्देहमुखेनापरानष्टावुदाहरणाभासान् दर्शयन्ति। सन्दिग्धसाध्यो यथा—महाराज्यं करिष्यत्येष राजपुत्रः, रसेम[सोम]वंश्यत्वात्, विवक्षितराजपुत्रवत्। सन्दिग्धसाधनो यथा—नायं सर्वज्ञः,रागादिमत्त्वात्, अद्यागतपान्थपुरुषवत्। सन्दिग्धोभयो यथा—गमिष्यति स्वर्गं विवक्षितः पुरुषः, समुपार्जितशुक्लधर्मत्वात्, अद्यागतापरिचितपुरुषवत्। सन्दिग्धाश्रयो यथा—नायं सर्वज्ञः, बहुवक्तृत्वात्, भविष्यद्देवपुत्रवत्। सन्दिग्धसाध्यव्यावृत्तो यथा—माहा[?]यो महाराज्यं न करिष्यति, स सोमवंश्यो न भवति, यथान्यो राजपुत्रः। सन्दिग्धसाधनव्यावृत्तो यथा—यः सर्वज्ञः स रागादिसहितः, यथा समस्तशास्त्रार्थज्ञः पुरुषः। सन्दिग्धोभयव्यावृत्तो यथा—यस्स्वर्गं न गमिष्यति स समुपार्जितशुक्लधर्मापि न भवति, दुष्टपुरुषवत्। सन्दिग्धाश्रयो यथा—सस्सर्वज्ञः स बहुवक्तापि न भवति, भविष्यद्देवपुत्रवत्॥

दृष्टान्ते प्रसिद्धाविनाभावस्य साधनस्य दृष्टान्तोपमानेन पक्षे व्याप्तिव्यापकं वचनमुपनयः। यथा[तथा] चेदं दृश्यं जागरितमिति साधर्म्योपनयः, तथादृश्यं न भवति इदं जागरितमिति वैधर्म्योपनयः॥

उपनयानन्तरं सहेतुकं प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम्। तस्मान्मिथ्यैव जागारितमिति। न चेदमसाधनाङ्गं निगमनम्, विपक्षे बाधकप्रमाणसद्भावसूचकत्वादस्य। न च विपक्षे बाधकमन्तरेण साध्यावधारणं संभवति; तथा चोक्तम् "विमृश्य पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामर्थावधारणं निर्णयः" इति। पक्षप्रतिपक्षाभ्यामिति साधनदूषणाभ्यामित्यर्थः। तस्मान्निगमनप्रतिपाद्यार्थसद्भावादस्ति निगमनम्। ब्रह्मवित्समये निगमनं नास्तीति चेन्न, यत आह—

"हेतूक्तितः प्रतिज्ञायाः सिद्धार्थाया यदुत्तरम्।
वचो निगमनं तत् स्याद्वाक्यस्यावयवोऽन्तभाक्॥" इति।

भाष्यकारोऽप्याह "निगमनस्थानीयं मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणम्" इत्यादि। ततः **शाबर**मपि भाष्यमुपनयनिगमनसद्भावं सूचयति। "ननु सर्व एव निरालम्बनः प्रत्ययः; प्रत्ययस्य हि निरालम्बनतास्वभाव उपलक्षितः स्वप्ने। जाग्रतोऽपि स्तम्भ इति वा कुड्य इति वा प्रत्ययापेक्षा भवति। तस्मात् सोऽपि निरालम्बन एव" इति निदर्शनात्। स एष परमो न्यायः यद्विप्रतिपन्नं पुरुषं प्रति पञ्चावयवं वाक्यम्। तत्सापेक्षं परार्थानुमानम्। एवं स्वार्थं परार्थं च द्विविधमनुमानम्॥

"विशेषेऽनुगमाभावः सामान्ये सिद्धसाध्यता" इति चार्वाकस्य यः पर्यनुयोगः, सोऽग्निधूमजात्याक्रान्ताकारेण व्यक्त्योरेव व्याप्यव्यापकभावाभ्युपगमेन गम्यगमकभावाभ्युगमाच्च निरस्तः ॥

अन्ये पुनः प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानमाहुः—पूर्ववत्, शेषवत्, सामान्यतोदृष्टं चेति । तत्र पूर्ववत्—पूर्वं कारणम्; पूर्वमस्यास्तीति पूर्ववत्, कारणवदित्येतत्; कारणेन कार्यानुमानम्—यथा विशिष्टमेघोन्नतिदर्शनाद् भविष्यति वृष्टिरिति । शेषवत् कार्यवत्; शेषोऽस्यास्तीति शेषवत्; उक्तात्कारणादन्येन शेषेण कार्येण कारणानुमानम्—यथा नदीपूरविशेषादभूद् वृष्टिरिति । कार्यकारणयोरन्यतरदर्शनादन्यतरप्रतिपत्तिः सामान्यतोदृष्टम्—यथा सवितुरुदयगिरिमूर्धनि दृष्टस्यास्तगिरिमस्तके दर्शनाद् व्रज्यानुमानम् । तथा च **मनु**रस्यानुमानत्रयस्य सद्भावं दर्शयति, प्राप्तिपूर्वकत्वात् प्रतिषेधस्य—

"आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञातमलक्षणम् ।
अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः ॥" इति ॥

अत्राप्रज्ञातमिति प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधः । अलक्षणमिति पूर्ववदनुमाननिषेधः । अप्रतर्क्यमिति शेषवदनुमाननिषेधः । अविज्ञेयमिति सामान्यतोदृष्टनिषेधः । एतच्चानुमानत्रयं व्याप्तिबलात् ॥

अत्राह—का पुनरियं व्याप्तिः? किंच तस्यां प्रमाणम्? उच्यते । व्याप्तिरविनाभावः; अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ च तस्यां प्रमाणम् । कः पुनरविनाभावः—अग्निस्वरूपम्, आहोस्विद्धूमस्वरूपम्, अथवा तयोः कार्यकारणभावः, किं वा तत्त्वान्तरम्? यदा तत्त्वान्तरं तदापि किं स्वतन्त्रम्, उत तदाश्रयम्? यदा तदाश्रयम्, तदापि किमग्न्याश्रयम्, उत धूमाश्रयम्, आहोस्विदुभयाश्रयम्—इति विकल्पः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकावपि किं प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भूतौ, आहोस्विदनुमानान्तर्भूतौ, अथवार्थापत्त्यात्मकौ—इति तत्रापि विकल्पः । उच्यते । धूमाश्रय एव कश्चिद्धर्मोऽविनाभाव इति वदामः । स च नात्यन्तमभिन्नः, नाप्यत्यन्तं भिन्नः, किंतु तदात्मक एव कश्चिन्नियमविशेषः, तथा प्रतीतेः । न चैतयोः कार्यकारणभावोऽस्य धूमैकनिष्ठत्वात्, कार्यकारणभावस्य चोभयनिष्ठत्वात्; तस्मात्तत्त्वान्तरमविनाभावः । न च स्वतन्त्रः, नाप्युभयतन्त्रः, धूमैकतन्त्रत्वात्; अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ च तत्र प्रमाणम्, प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भूतावनुमानान्तर्भूतावर्थापत्त्यन्तर्भूतौ वा विरोधाभावात् । प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावपक्षे भूयोदर्शनसंस्कारसहितार्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाद्व्याप्तिविज्ञानोत्पत्तिरिति योजयितव्यम्; वैशेषिकादिवत् अन्वयव्यतिरेकयोर्मानसप्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावानभ्युपगमात् । अन्यथासिद्धिप्रयोजकसंशयाबन्वयव्यतिरेकदूषणम्; तदभावे तयोरौत्सर्गिकं प्रामाण्यमनपवादं भवति प्रत्यक्षान्तर्भावपक्षे । अर्थैव[अर्थाप]-

त्यन्तभावपक्षे पुनरन्यथासिद्धार[व]र्थापत्तिरेव नास्तीति प्रापकाभावादेव कार्याभावः, न प्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् । अनुमानत्वपक्षेऽप्यनन्यथासिद्धाविवान्वयव्यतिरेकौ व्याप्त्यादि-लिङ्गमिति व्याप्याभावादेव व्याप्तिज्ञानलक्षणकार्याभावः,न प्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् । अन्यथा-सिद्धिर्यथाग्निसामीप्यात् पाषाणधूमयोः ; क्वचित् तत्तन्त्रत्वाद् यथा धूमपैङ्गल्ययोः; क्वचिदेककारणकार्यत्वाद् यथा भस्मधूमयोः ; कार्यकारणत्वाद् यथा पितामहपौत्रयोः; क्वचित्कारणेन समानाश्रयत्वात् अकारणस्य कार्यान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा गुरुत्वात्, पाषाणस्य पतने पाषाणगतरूपादिना तदीयपतनान्वयव्यतिरेकयोः ; क्वचित्कारणप्रतिबन्धकाभावत्वाद् तस्य कार्येण सहान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा मणिमन्त्राद्यभावस्य धूमेन सह । क्वचित्प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्य कार्येण सह अन्वयव्यतिरे-कयोरन्यथासिद्धिः, यथा प्रतिमन्त्रस्य धूमेन सहेति । एवंप्रकारमप्यूह्यं प्रयोजकसंशयस्यो-दाहरणम् ॥

मन्त्रार्थवादानामन्यपरत्वात् विषभक्षणादिवाक्यवद्यथाश्रुतेऽर्थे न प्रामाण्यमिति मीमांसकेनोक्ते वेदान्तवाद्याह—सन्दिग्धं प्रयोजकम् ; किं प्रमाणान्तरेण बाधाद्विषभक्षणा-दिवाक्यस्य यथाश्रुतेऽर्थेऽप्रामाण्यम्, आहोस्विदन्यपरत्वाद् इति । तदेवमन्यथासिद्धि-प्रयोजकसंशयाभावेऽन्वयव्यतिरेकौ व्याप्त्यादिग्रहणनिमित्तमिति सिद्धम् । अतोऽनु-मानात्मकत्वमेवान्वयव्यतिरेकयोरस्मद्दर्शने । कस्मात्? आप्तवचनात् । तथाहि भगवत्पा-दीयवचनम्—

" अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ हि पदार्थस्य पदस्य च ।
स्यादेतदहामित्यत्र युक्तिरेवावधारणा ॥" इति ।

युक्तिरत्रानुमानलक्षणा, न पुनस्तर्कः ; अन्यत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकयोः स्पष्टमनुमान-शब्दौ[ब्द]निर्देशात् ; तथाह्यन्वयव्यतिरेकौ प्रकृत्याह—

" अनुमानप्रदीपेन हित्वा सर्वाननात्मनः ।
संसारैकावलम्बिन्या तदभावं धियेप्सति ॥"

इति वार्तिककारः । तस्मादुपपन्नं व्याप्तिग्रहणम् ॥

अत्र केचिदाहुः । त्रिरूपाणि त्रीण्येव लिङ्गानि—अनुपलब्धिः स्वभावः कार्यं चेति । परार्थानुमानवाक्यं च हेतूदाहरणावयवद्वयात्मकमिच्छन्ति । तेषां स्वार्थानुमानं तावदुपन्यस्यते—त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गादर्थदृक् स्वार्थानुमानम् । तत्रापि प्रथममनुपलब्धिः यथा—न प्रदेशविशेषे क्वचिद् घट उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्यानुपलब्धेरिति । स्वभावस्यो-दाहरणं यथा—वृक्षोऽयं शिंशपात्वादिति । कार्यस्योदाहरणं यथा—अग्निरत्र धूमादिति । अत्र द्वे वस्तुसद्भावसाधने स्वभावः कार्यं चेति ; अनुपलब्धिस्तु प्रतिषेधहेतुः । इति स्वार्थानुमानम् ॥

अथ परार्थानुमानम्—त्रिरूपलिङ्गाख्यानं परार्थानुमानं कारणे कार्योपचारात् । तद् द्विविध प्रयोगभेदाद्, साधर्म्यवत् वैधर्म्यवच्च । नानयोरर्थतः कश्चिद्भेदः, अन्यत्र प्रयोगभेदात् ; तत्र साधर्म्यवत् ; यदुपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तं सन्नोपलभ्यते तदसत् ; यथा—

खरस्य विषाणम्; नोपलभ्यते च क्वचिदेव प्रदेशविशेष उपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तो घट इत्यनुपलब्धिप्रयोगः। तथा स्वभावहेतोः प्रयोगः—यत्सत् तत्सर्वमानित्यम्, यथा घटादि; सच्च विवादास्पदीभूतमिति। तथा यदुत्पत्तिमत् तदनित्यम्, यथा घटादि; उत्पत्तिमच्च विवादास्पदीभूतमिति। तथा यत्कृतकं तदनित्यम्, यथा घटादि; कृतकं च विवादास्पदीभूतमिति। कार्यहेतोः प्रयोगः; यत्र धूमस्तत्राग्निः यथा महानसादौ; अस्ति चेह धूम इति। वैधर्म्यवतः प्रयोगः; यत्सदु[यदु]पलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तं तदुपलभ्य इति, [प्राप्तं सदुपलभ्यते तत् सत्] यथा नीलादिविशेषः; न चैवमिहोपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तस्य घटस्योपलब्धिरित्येषोऽनुपलब्धिप्रयोगः। नित्ये नास्ति सत्त्वमुत्पत्तिमत्त्वं कृतकत्वं वा। असंश्च [संश्च] शब्द उत्पत्तिमान् कृतको वेति वैधर्म्यवतः स्वभावहेतोरेव प्रयोगः। असत्यग्नौ न भवत्येव धूमः। अत्र चास्तीति कार्यहेतोर्वैधर्म्यवतः प्रयोगः। तदेतदसत्; स्वभावादित्रयविलक्षणस्य कृत्तिकोदयस्य रोहिण्युदयलिङ्गत्वदर्शनात्। न हि कृत्तिकोदयो रोहिण्युदयस्य स्वभावः; नापि कार्यम्; नाप्यनुपलब्धिः; प्रमाणाभावात्; तथापि कृत्तिकोदयो रोहिण्युदयस्य लिङ्गं दृश्यते; तस्मादेव न त्रीण्येव लिङ्गानीति। त्रिरूपाण्येवेति एतदप्यसत्, पाञ्चरूप्यचातूरूप्ययोर्दर्शितत्वात्। परार्थानुमानवाक्यस्य द्व्यवयवनियमाभ्युपगमोऽप्यनुपपन्नः, पञ्चावयवत्वदर्शनात्। तस्मादन्येन[तस्मात् येन]प्राप्तं पञ्चरूपं चतूरूपं वा। तत्तु लिङ्गमिति नियमः; न त्रयं चतुष्टयं वेति। परार्थानुमानवाक्यं च पञ्चावयवमिति स्थितम्॥

केचित्पुनर्वेदान्तपक्षेऽपि त्रिरूपमेव लिङ्गं त्र्यवयवं च वाक्यमिच्छन्ति। त्रिरूपत्वे लिङ्गस्य ज्योतिर्ब्राह्मणगतं **सुरेश्वरस्य** वार्तिकं गमकमाहुः—

"सहोपलम्भसंस्कारात् पुनर्द्धीयैकदर्शनात्।
सानुमासंभवस्तत्र व्यभिचाराय चेन्न हि॥" इति।

त्र्यवयवत्वं च वाक्यस्य, कर्ममीमांसावार्तिककारपरित्यागे कारणाभावादिति। तथा सति असिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकसप्रतिसाधनाश्चत्वार एव हेत्वाभासाः। प्रकरणसमस्य सप्रतिसाधनेऽन्तर्भावः, अनध्यवसितस्य चानैकान्तिकेऽन्तर्भावः; प्रत्यक्षाविरुद्धत्वादि प्रतिज्ञादोषो न हेतुदोषः; ततश्च कालात्ययापदिष्टो नाम हेत्वाभासो नास्ति, कालात्ययापदिष्टस्यानध्यवसितवदनैकान्तिकेऽन्तर्भावात्; किंतु षट् प्रतिज्ञाभासाः—प्रात्यक्षाविरुद्धः, अनुमानविरुद्धः, शास्त्रविरुद्धः, अर्थापत्तिविरुद्धः, योग्यानुपलब्धिविरुद्धः, अनुभवविरुद्धश्चेति। अत्र च पक्षे केवलान्वयिनोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकिमध्येऽन्तर्भावोऽपि [वः वि] पक्षाभावादेव विपक्षाद्द्वयावृत्तेर्व्यतिरेकसद्भावात्। केवलव्यतिरेकिणो गमकत्वमेव नास्ति "सहोपलम्भसंस्कारात् पुनर्धीयैकदर्शनात्" इत्यनुमानलक्षणविधानात्। कथं पुनर्वेदान्तग्रन्थेष्वापीत [वीत] हेतुप्राचुर्यदर्शनम्? बाह्यतार्किकमुखपिधानार्थं नैयायिकपक्षप्रसिद्धव्यतिरेकहेत्वङ्गीकरणवादेन तदुपन्यासात् तत्प्राचुर्यदर्शनमित्यस्मिन् पक्षे योजयितव्यमित्यलं प्रसङ्गेन। तस्मादनुमानमपि न व्यभिचरति॥

॥ **अनुमानलक्षणं समाप्तम्** ॥

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